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S. C. SARKAR
AND
K. K. DATTA

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Vol. I

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PREFACE

FROM the standpoint of the educator present-day college text-books of Indian History are not very helpful, even when they are written by scholars of repute. Amongst their defects that can be remedied without much difficulty are: (i) inadequate 'documentation' or reference to original sources or other authorities for statements made, (ii) persistence in the same old plan of 'formal' chronological presentation of matter, *e.g.*, reign by reign, (iii) neglect of critical historical judgment, and repetition of discarded theories and notions or of the 'heresies' of history. Reform of school text-books many in India have heard of and begun, but college text-books are still in their 'Achalāyatanam.'

I have attempted in my humble way to draw up a college text-book of Indian History comparatively free from the three defects mentioned above; and in this task my previous acquaintance with the business of training History teachers for high schools as well as the present one with that of training Research scholars in History, have been of some use; for the principles and methods of college teaching and learning, though distinct from those for high schools, are yet the natural sequel and development of them

Apart from drawing attention to the sources of each important statement in the book, arranging the facts topically wherever suitable, and introducing fresh perspectives, suggestive criticisms and judgment of evidence, the usefulness of the book has been sought to be improved by a bibliography both for junior and advanced students, and by illustrative maps selected on a somewhat fresh plan. The book will appear in two volumes and in several parts

In comparison with the University courses of study in other histories that in Indian History is decidedly weaker in India,—

a curious weakness in our system of education. The standard of attainments in the national history at the different examinations should be very much higher than in any other branch of the subject. No modern advanced European or American country fails to emphasise this point, whereas in India the Indians know not themselves. We have kept this defective notion of standards in view in preparing this text-book for undergraduates: we leave it to the several universities of our country to judge for what class of undergraduates, junior or senior; in our view the book indicates the junior undergraduate standard.

In the work of preparation of this book my former Research student and present colleague, Mr. K. K. Datta M.A., P.R.S., has been in every sense a full collaborator, and more than that as far as the spade-work is concerned. Another Research student of mine, Mr. J. N. Sarkar, M.A., who has also just become a colleague, and a post-graduate scholar of my department, Mr. J. C. Sinha, B.A. (Hons.), both the top men in History in their year, have helped us by looking through the typescript and the proofs, and by occasional suggestions. The index has been largely drawn up by Mr. Anant Krishna Bose, M.A., B.L., another Research student of mine and I am thankful to them for their valuable help.

I am indebted to Sir Jadunath Sarkar for his suggestions and assistance rendered by him in the preparation of Part III of this volume.

HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
PATNA COLLEGE, P.U.,
September, 1932

S. C. SARKAR

PREFACE TO THE ABRIDGED AND REVISED EDITION OF 1942

This Abridged and Revised Edition of the original work of 1932 has been drawn up on such lines as to suit the requirements of the different Universities. Quotations and dry details have been abridged, and the revision consists mainly in the incorporation of up-to-date research studies and modifications of estimates, where necessary, in the light thereof, and also in regrouping of chapters. The abridgement is designedly not in the nature of a notebook for examination cramming, but consists mainly in the dropping of matter not very necessary for the purpose of a correct yet full account, and which can be looked up in the references given. In the first volume accordingly the number of pages in the several chapters remain about the same though the arrangement of matter and contents are different in some respects. The bringing together of all matter relevant to the Mughals in one volume will probably be regarded as very convenient by many teachers and students. The plan of the original work, however, was to look upon Indian History as one whole, without any special concentration on any one aspect of it,—and that plan will stand in the subsequent editions of the original work. The general purpose of the present version of that work is the same as that explained in the preface to the first edition of 1932.

Patna College :
September, 1942.

S. C. SARKAR
K. K. DATTA.

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CORRIGENDA

Headings, pp. 61—96, *for* ' Zenith of the Mughal Empire ' *read* ' Mughal Dynasty and Succession.'

Headings, pp. 97—115, *for* 'Mughal Imperialism' *read* 'Mughal Imperialism and Expansion.'

Headings, pp. 117—133, *for* ' Mughal North-West Frontier ' *read* ' Mughal Frontier and Transfrontier.'

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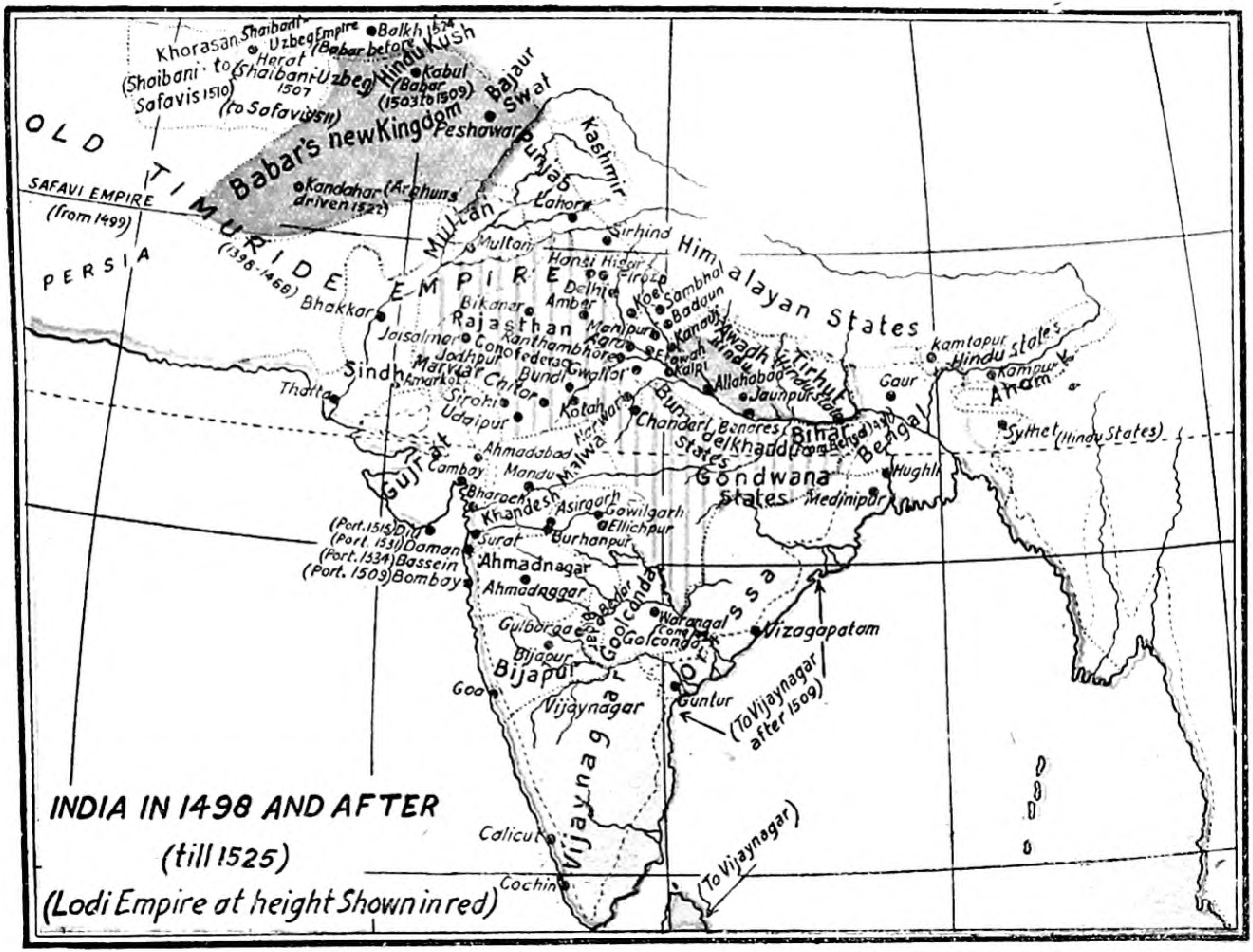

INDIA IN 1498 AND AFTER

(till 1525)

(Lodi Empire at height Shown in red)

OLD TIMURIDE EMPIRE
(1398-1468)
SAFAVI EMPIRE
(from 1499)
PERSIA
Khorasan
(Shaibani · to Safavis 1510)
Herat
Shaibani-Uzbeg Empire
(Shaibani-Uzbeg 1507
(to Safavis 1510)
Balkh
(Babar before 1524)
Hindu Kush
Kabul
(Babar (1503 to 1509)
Babar's new Kingdom
Kandahar (Arghuns driven 1522)
Bajaur
Swat
Peshawar
Kashmir
Punjab
Lahore
Multan
Multan
Sirhind
Himalayan States
Hansi Hisar
Firoza
Delhi
Koel
Sambhal
Badaun
Bikaner
Amber
Rajasthan
Manipuri
Kanauj
Jaisalmer
Confederacy
Ranthambhore
Agra
Etawah
Kalpi
Jodhpur
Marwar
Amarkot
Bundi
Gwalior
Awadh
Hindu
Tirhut
Hindu States
Allahabad
Jaunpur
Sindh
Thatta
Bhakkar
Chitor
Sirohi
Udaipur
Kotah
Narwar
Chanderi
Bundelkhand States
Benares
Bihar (to Bengal)
Bengal
Gaur
Kamtapur
Hindu States
Kampur
Aham
Sylhet (Hindu States)
Gujrat
Ahmadabad
Cambay
Mandu
Malwa
Gondwana States
Medinipur
Hughli
Bharoch
Khandesh
Asirgarh
Gawilgarh
Ellichpur
Burhanpur
Surat
(Port. 1515) Diu
(Port. 1531) Daman
(Port. 1534) Bassein
(Port. 1509) Bombay
Ahmadnagar
Ahmadnagar
Bidar
Berar
Golcanda
Warangal
Golconda
Orissa
Vizagapatam
(To Vijaynagar after 1509)
Gulbarga
Bijapur
Bijapur
Goa
Guntur
Vijaynagar
Vijaynagar
Calicut
Cochin
(To Vijaynagar)

MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MODERN AGE, AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE MUGHAL DOMINION, IN INDIA

SECTION I

THE year 1498 is a landmark in world history. The discovery of the Cape route by Vasco da Gama transformed the relations between the East and the West not only commercially, but also politically and culturally,—for it brought India into contact with the renaissant Western World.

It was the spirit of the European Renaissance that led to the creation of the modern man and of his modern world. It produced a tremendous ferment in the minds of men, amidst which the medieval European political and religious systems began to dissolve. This new spirit, when carried into the field of politics, led to the birth of the modern nation-states, and brought into the field of religion, it gave rise to the Reformation movements.

Many of these characteristics of the modern age are visible about this time in India also. Here, too, we may trace a tendency towards formation of new states, some by way of a national revival against foreign domination, and some by way of break-up of the Medieval Imperial system, half military and half theocratic. Though not exactly like the nation-states of Europe, the states of Vijaynagar, Mewar and Bengal during the 14th and 15th centuries can hardly be regarded as otherwise than national. And side by side with this, we may also recognise the birth of new tendencies in religion, literature and culture, parallel to the European Reformation and counter-Reformations, and to the growth of European vernacular languages and literatures largely through those religious movements.

The teachings of Wycliffe, Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and others, secured the liberation of many European countries, like England and Holland, from the overshadowing influence of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy, and thus enabled them to play a prominent rôle in history; similarly the preachings of Madhava, Savana and Ramanand, of Eknath, Tukaram and Ramdas, of Kabir and Nanak, or of Chaitanya, greatly freed South India, the Deccan, the Punjab and Bengal from the burden of medievalism in religion, society and thought, offered a check to the progress of Islamic conversion, and made for the rise of the new Telugu, Maratha or Sikh powers that created fresh history.

Again, just as the destruction of the medieval order in Europe and the spirit of renaissance gave new vigour and self-consciousness to the growing nation-states and thus saved Europe from being engulfed by the Moslem-Turkish advance, so also the rise of independent Hindu states and the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate into Indian Moslem states meant the turning of the tide of Moslem-Turkish advance into India, for more than two centuries at least.

In the field of religion, Islam in India had, to some extent, lost its aggressive and militant spirit by this time and several religious reformation movements had begun to bridge the gulf between the mutually repellant foreign and native cultures. With some differences in details, all these popular religious reformers preached the identity of religions, the unity of Godhead, and the brotherhood of man,—the dignity of man relative to his actions and not to his birth, the elimination of race and caste distinctions and of priestly formalities,—and they laid emphasis on simple devotion and faith as the means of salvation for all. They rose above religious fanaticism, the chief feature of medievalism, and were the true precursors of the broad-minded theistic reformers of 19th century India.

As these reformers wanted to carry their message to the masses—to both the Hindus outside the inner circle of conservative classical Brahmanism as well as to the Moslems, who either had lost touch with the traditional Hindu culture by conversion, or to whom it was foreign and unintelligible,—they resorted to the spoken languages of the different parts of the country for their preachings and writings; and this led to the growth and development of the modern vernacular literatures of India. Ramananda and Kabir preached in Hindi, Mirabai[1] and others sang in Brajabhasa, Eknath helped the development of the Marathi literature, Nanak and his followers encouraged Punjabi and Gurumukhi, and the Vaishnava reformers of Bengal and Orissa rendered valuable services to the cause of the Bengali and the Oriya literature respectively. At the same time, the non-Indo-Aryan vernaculars of the South also received a fresh impetus from these religious reformations, for the real home of the Vaishnava and Saiva revivals was in the South, among Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese speakers. Thus, Ramanuja, the founder of the Sri Vaishnavas, who was born near Madras and died at Srirangam in 1137, was a Telugu Brahman; Vasava, the founder of the Lingayat Saivas, was a South Indian, preaching in the Kalachuri Kingdom, 1156—67;

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[1] Regarding her date and connection with the Mewar royal family there is a good deal of uncertainty; acc. to Tod she was wife of Rana Kumbha (who wrote a commentary on Jayadeva's Gitagovinda and raised a Krishna temple at Chitor); acc. to Macauliffe she was daughter-in-law of Sanga; another version makes her daughter-in-law of Kumbha; modern view prefers to regard her as Sanga's daughter-in-law (wife of Bhoja-rāja); ordinarily 1470 is given as her date of birth; but this would not agree with her position in the Mewar family as accepted now; she seems to have flourished in the first quarter of the 16th century.

Ramananda of the 14th century was a Telugu Brahman who carried the flag of reformation from the South to the Hindi-speaking North; so was Vallabhacharya, born 1479, who did the same thing; even Chaitanya of South-West Bengal, born 1485, found his chief sphere of activity in the borderland of Orissa towards the South, where a new Hindu power had grown to a great height including much of South India in the 15th and 16th centuries, and had been under the influence of the Telugu empires of the Cholas and of Vijaynagar from time to time. In thus encouraging the enlightenment of the people through their vernaculars, these reformers, appealing to the masses, manifested the modern spirit in full, for the education and uplift of the *demos* has been one of the most characteristic ideals of the modern democratic age.

Though a more or less steady stream of warlike or peaceful immigration of Moslems from other parts of the Islamic world into India kept up the cleavage between the foreign ruling classes and the native ruled, yet as a result of long association and the increase of the converted Indo-Moslem community, as well as of the liberalising reform movements spread out over several centuries, the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India had come to be considerably influenced by each other's thought and customs, and mutual toleration was taking the place of medieval uncompromising fanaticism. Both as a cause and as a result of this, intermarriages between Muhammadan and Hindu ruling families became fairly frequent : thus Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq's family intermarried with Jat noble families of the Punjab, and Turks with a strain of Indian blood were called Qarauniyahs; Rajput princesses were often taken into Moslem royal harems, like the wife and daughter of the Baghela prince, Rai Karan of Gujarat; Firuz Shah Bahmani also anticipated Akbar by marrying two Hindu ladies, one being a daughter of King Deva Raya I of Vijaynagar; Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur married the sister of a Maratha chieftain, Mukunda Rao, and her daughters were married into neighbouring Deccan royal families, the famous Chánd Bibi being her descendant; converted Hindus who rose to high station also followed the Moslem rulers and nobles in casting their matrimonial net wide; thus Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, originally a Hindu of Warrangal, and subsequently Firuz Tughluq's chief minister, had a harem of wives taken from various Hindu and Moslem families. The same spirit of toleration was shown by the growing Hindu practice of worshipping Muslim saints, particularly those of the mystic school, and a corresponding Muslim practice of revering Hindu saints,—leading in the case of Bengal even to the evolution under state patronage of a common worship of *Satyapir* (the True Saint). It was as a result of this friendliness in religious life that even conversions from the Muslim (and subsequently the Christian) folds into Hindu reformed religions became possible. The desire for mutual understanding was shown in Hindu (Sanskrit) religious literature being studied and translated (or summarised) into Arabic, Persian or the vernaculars, in the Muslim court circles, like those of Bengal under Husain Shah and Kashmir under Zain-ul-Abdin; the corresponding translations or adaptations of Muslim religious literature for Hindu readers and listeners appeared comparatively later, probably partly owing to the play of conservative instincts of prestige and partly owing to the absence of complexity of thought and variety of tradition in the Muslim religious literature.[2]

Along with religious books, systems of Hindu philosophy like Yoga and Vedanta, and of science like those of Astrology and Medicine, received the attention not only of Muslim courts but also of Muslim preachers and saints. Though the presence in the country of alien ruling and military classes for several centuries necessitated the growth of the *Urdu*, the so-called camp language, yet neither was it developed readily (owing apparently to the incompatibility of Aryan vernaculars with non-Aryan Turki which was the chief language of the rulers rather than the Aryan Persian which increased in influence in India from Humayun's time), nor did it meet all the needs of literary genius. So we find both Muslim writers writing in vernaculars on subjects of Hindu life and tradition as Javasi did on Padmini, and Hindu writers producing works after Muslim literary tradition in the Persian language, as Rai Bhana Mal did in the line of chronicles. Further illustration of the increasing assimilation between the two cultures is to be seen in the growth of new schools of art, architecture and music, in which the basic element remained the old Hindu, but the finish and the outward form became Persian, and the purpose served was that of Muslim courts.

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[2] An instance of the manner in which medieval Muslim preachers in Bengal tried to popularise Islamic theological ideas by mixing them up with purely Hindu ideas and presenting them in easy vernacular is the MS. fragments of a work called Chota Kitab (or the Lesser Scripture, other than the major Islamic four) exhibited by us at the Indian Historical Records Commission's Session at Patna, 1930.

This rapprochement in religion, literature and culture had its counterpart in the political field also, and we naturally find a large number of Hindus becoming prominent in Muslim States, and Muslims also in Hindu State services. Thus, in Malwa Medini Rai of Chanderi and his followers obtained the highest positions; in Bengal Husain Shah employed Hindu officials, prominent amongst whom were Purandar Khan, Rup and Sanatan; several Hindus were employed as ministers by the Qutub Shahi Kings of Golkonda; Yusuf Adil Shah freely admitted Hindus to offices of trust, and the Marathi language came to be ordinarily used in the Bijapur administrative documents. Zain-ul-Abdin, Sultan of Kashmir, was a pro-Hindu ruler of liberal ideas, who anticipated Akbar in all his policies. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was called '*Jagadguru*' by his Muslim subjects for his patronage of Hindus in the state.

On the other hand, the Hindu champion Rana Sanga of Chitor gallantly respected the independence of his defeated and captured enemy Mahmud II of Malwa; he had also a Musalman contingent under him in his war against the invader Babar; and Himu, a Hindu bania, rose to be the chief minister and generalissimo of Adil Shah Sur; the Vijaynagar State also employed Muslims in its army, since the time of Deva Raya II (1421—48),—a tradition later on continued by the Marathas.

Besides all these, from the year 1498 India felt the influence of the geographical discoveries of the West. The Arab domination of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, built up gradually at the cost of the native Indian over-sea trading and colonial activities (no longer supported by Indian states that were falling one by one before Muslim conquerors who had no bent for maritime enterprise), was now challenged by the nations of Western Europe, whose sailors had discovered new routes. Overpowered by this increased foreign competition, and by a flood of Mongoloid immigrations into Farther India and East Indies, the remnants of the old Indian over-sea trade and colonies perished; one of the last glimpses that we get of the passing commercial and cultural connections between native India and Insul-India is in the pages of the land and sea travels of Buddha-Gupta, the Karnata teacher of the Buddhist monk-scholar Taranatha of Tibet in the time of the rise of Akbar's empire and the height of Vijaynagar's power.[2] India was thus penetrated through the sea frontier by nations who were to play important part in the history of the country throughout the succeeding centuries. From this time began the history of modern commerce in India, as in Europe. The influx of the European traders caused the growth of new markets for Indian raw materials and manufactures and for some time India became the supplier of the whole world in a number of commodities. It was also from this time that Portugal thought of establishing a dominion in India by employing disciplined and modernised Indian troops and by making use of Indian succession contests. Anarchy in India, preceding the firm establishment of Mughal authority in Northern as well as Peninsular India, gave them opportunities for about a century, till Akbar's southward march from 1596, to carry out their design. Henceforth the influence of the Mughal Empire for nearly a hundred years kept it under check. But its decline " rendered possible a revival of the old Portuguese policy (by other European powers) and from the struggle which ensued, England emerged the sovereign power in India."[4]

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[2] Tucci's paraphrase in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1931.

In short, under the pressure of internal and external forces medievalism was nearing its end, when the Mughals appeared as a new factor in Indian History.

The establishment of Mughal rule in India meant a fresh victory for the cause of Islam in India, while its forces had achieved notable triumphs in other parts of the world. The Ottoman Turks had taken Constantinople in 1453 and under Sulaiman the Magnificent (1520—1566) the authority of the Turkish Empir was extended over a large part of Europe, and the Turks even knocked at the gates of Vienna and Poland. In Persia Shah Ismail I (1500—1524) founded the Safavi Empire. As such the Mughal conquest of India might be regarded as an event in Islamic and world history. It did not, however, prove quite a constructive factor in Indian History, but ultimately became an agency for prolongation of medievalism. It is true that up to the end of Akbar's reign the forces of modernism were all preserved and went on progressing, but from after his death they received continued checks. All the characteristics of medievalism appeared once more. Religious persecution and fanaticism took the place of religious toleration. Court rivalries and factions appeared; nationalism, liberalism, and economic regeneration, all lost their chances in India, and the way was being prepared for the rise of a new power in the country which, itself fully realising all the advantages of modernism, was destined finally to modernise India in another way.

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[4] Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 170.

SECTION II

POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABAR'S INVASION, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

There are two things without which no government can be established on a secure basis and can last long. One is the force of habit derived from tradition, and the other is the force of will derived from national support. The Turko-Afghan rule of India lacked both. Its military and feudal character was not in line with the ancient traditional government of the country though it found a parallel in the immediately preceding medieval Rajput states. As an inevitable corollary to this the medieval governments of India, Rajput or Turko-Afghan, could not secure national support: in fact the nation had gone into the background long ago, after the Hun invasions, and only the feudal military aristocracy made history. There was also no well regulated administrative machinery under the Turko-Afghan rule; the authority of the central government, which was in the hands of the Sultan and a class of military nobility, extended hardly beyond a limited area within a striking distance of his capital or their forts. The rest of the country was in the hands either of unruly and capricious provincial governors or of Hindu nobles, who were allowed to rule their own principalities without any interference so long as they sent tribute and presents to Delhi. A tie of mutual attachment between the central government and the masses of the people was strikingly absent. In fact, the dismemberment of the

Turki Empire had already begun since the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq and it was almost complete after the blow it had received at the hands of Timur. Timur's invasion was no doubt a predatory raid, but it destroyed one Empire in India and left the field open for another to rise from within or without.

At the beginning of the 16th century Ibrahim Lodi's authority did not extend beyond Delhi, Agra, the Doab, Biyana and Chanderi. The Punjab was under his relative, Daulat Khan Lodi, who resisted the authority of the Delhi ruler, and similar was the case in other parts of India. The nobles of Bihar declared their independence under Darya Khan Lohani, and in Jaunpur the Afghan nobles rebelled under the leadership of Nasir Khan Lohani of Ghazipur, Maruf Farmuli and others. Bengal, which had become independent in the time of Firuz Shah Tughluq, was at the opening of the 16th century under the sway of the Husaini dynasty. An Arab by descent, Alauddin Husain Shah (1493—1519), the first ruler of this dynasty, was a man of vigour, and he extended his kingdom as far as the borders of Orissa and invaded Kamatpur in Koch Bihar (on Assam border). He "enjoyed a peaceable and happy reign beloved by his subjects and respected by his neighbours." He gave shelter to Husain Shah, the last Sharqi King of Jaunpur, driven out by the Lodis of Delhi. His son and successor Nusrat Shah occupied Tirhut and made peace with Babar. He patronised art, architecture and Bengali literature; a Bengali version of the Mahabharata was prepared under his orders.

The kingdom of Malwa became independent under Dilwar Khan Ghori (descended from Muhammad Ghori), who was a feudal chieftain under Sultan Firuz Tughluq. But in 1435 the Ghori dynasty of Malwa was supplanted by the Turki Khilji dynasty (a branch of the royal Khiljis) under Mahmud Khan, the minister of the Ghori chieftain who ascended the throne with the title of Mahmud Khilji. "Sultan Mahmud," says Ferishta, "was polite, brave, just and learned and during his reign his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and his resting place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of earth read." The next Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din was poisoned by his son Nasir-ud-din. The parricide Sultan highly abused his power till he died in 1512. Under his son and successor Mahmud II the kingdom became weak and the government fell under the control of Medini Rai, a gallant Rajput chief. The Hindus were appointed to the important positions of trust and responsibility, which excited the jealousy of the Muslim nobles, and the latter tried to overthrow the influence of the Rajput chief with the help of their coreligionists from Gujarat. But Medini Rai, who secured the support of Rana Sanga of Chittor, defeated the Muslim army, and the Sultan fell into the hands of the Rajputs. Rana Sanga, however, treated him with chivalrous courtesy and restored him to his kingdom. The kingdom of Malwa was not destined to remain independent for a long time: in 1531 it was conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

The kingdom of Gujarat secured its independence (1396) under Zafar Khan, the son of a Rajput convert, who ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shah. Mahmud Begarha (1458—1511) was the most notable ruler of this dynasty. He took possession of the fortress of Champaner to the north-east of Baroda and of Junagadh in Kathiawar and overran Cutch. He was jealous of the rising sea-power of the Portuguese and tried to break it by allying himself with the Sultan of Turkey. He was the first and one of the very few Indian rulers who saw the importance of the Portuguese (European maritime expansion in the Indian waters. He was at first successful against the

Portuguese and inflicted a severe defeat on them near Chaul, to the south of Bombay in 1508. But the Portuguese quickly recovered their naval supremacy, and the allied Turkish and Gujarat fleet was defeated next year near Diu. Mahmud then came to terms with the Portuguese and they were allowed to build a factory at Diu. Thus the ruler of an independent local kingdom failed to prevent the intrusion of a body of foreign traders. The footing they thus gained in the rich west coast of India could not be disturbed even by Akbar. Mahmud was "mild and just to his own servants" and "whether for abounding justice and generosity; for success in religious wars and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Mussalmans; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age; for power, for valour and victory;"—"he was a pattern of excellence." But unlike the contemporary Sultans of Bengal, he was a bigot. Muzaffar Shah II, who succeeded Mahmud in 1511 A.D., was busy throughout his reign in fighting against his enemies and was defeated by Rana Sanga of Mewar. After his death in April 1526, his son Bahadur Shah ascended the throne in July 1526.

The kingdom of Khandesh which had become independent in 1388 was at the time of Babar's invasion under the rule of Miran Muhammad. Situated at a great distance from Delhi, the desert province of Sindh did not exercise much influence on the politics of Northern India. Just on the eve of Babar's invasion of Hindustan, Sindh was in a distracted state owing to the struggles between the Samma dynasty and the Arghun dynasty for supremacy in that region. The Samma dynasty had established itself there towards the middle of the 14th century. But Shah Beg Arghun, Governor of Qandahar, who was compelled to surrender it to Babar about 1516 A.D. turned towards Sindh as another sphere of activity and established an Arghun principality there. His son Shah Husain annexed Multan and increased the power of the dynasty. Kashmir also was at that time under an independent Muhammadan dynasty, founded early in the 14th century by a Muslim minister of the Hindu rulers; Zain-ul-Abdin, the prototype of Akbar, had ruled there fifty years before this.

In the south, the Bahmani Kingdom had by that time spent up all its forces in conflicts with the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar, and after the cruel execution of the famous minister Mahmud Gawan in 1481, five independent principalities, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkonda, Berar and Bidar had sprung out of it. Berar seceded first, where Fathullah Imad Shah, a convert Hindu, founded the Imad Shahi dynasty. Yusuf Adil Shah, a Georgian slave of Mahmud Gawan, reputed to be a son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey, founded the Adil Shahi dynasty at Bijapur of which he was governor, and declared his independence in 1489-90. In the same year Malik Ahmad, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri (who had brought about the end of Mahmud Gawan and was descended from the hereditary Hindu revenue officials of Pathri) defeated Mahmud Bahmani and founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Quli Qutb Shah, a Turki officer under Mahmud Gawan, made Golkunda independent between 1512 and 1518. This new kingdom was a revival of the old Hindu Kakatiya Kingdom of Warrangal conquered by Bahmanis in 1423. The diminished Bahmani Kingdom survived in name with the residue of its possessions till 1526, but the rulers were helpless puppets in the hands of Qasim Barid and his son Amir Aliya; the latter formally dispensed with the rule of the Bahmani Sultans in 1526 and founded the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar (which lasted till the final annexation of Bidar by Bijapur in 1609). These independent offshoots of the Bahmani Sultanate, together with Vijaynagar, introduced another period of internal warfare in the Peninsula, like that between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas in the Middle Ages, or between Mysore, the Marathas and the Nizam in the 18th century. There was no united policy, no action with a common aim or under common principle. In fact, the break-up of the Bahmani Kingdom greatly weakened the Muslim cause in the Peninsula, where the Vijaynagar Empire remained in full power and glory. ✓

(It was Vijaynagar which held the key to the political situation of the time. Founded in the middle of the 14th century (1336) this Empire soon extended in the mainland of India up to Cuttack in the east, Salsette in the west, and reached the extreme border of the Peninsula in the south, while its sphere of influence included many islands and coasts of the Indian Ocean.[4] Its growth was the political manifestation of the spirit of Hindu Renaissance.) According to a current tradition[5] Harihar and Bukka, the founders of the city and kingdom of Vijaynagar, had been inspired in their careers by the famous Brahman sage and scholar of the day, Madhava Vidyaranya, and most probably his brother Sayana, the famous commentator of the Vedas, also contributed largely to this spirit of revival. The Vijaynagar Empire checked the growth of Muslim power not only in the south but by keeping the attention and energies of the Bahmani Sultanate and its offshoots constantly engaged indirectly prevented its extension in the north as well. But for the mighty Vijaynagar Empire, the Muslim rulers of the south might have extended their activities in the north and could have established there a strong Muslim power by bringing the contemporary insignificant independent Muhammadan principalities under their control.

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[5] *Journal of Indian History*, 1827, p. 7; *vide* also articles in *Indian Antiquary*, 1932 and 1933.

[6] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 20—23. According to Father Heras, a modern writer on the subject, this tradition was of later origin and became current in the 16th century. In his opinion the Hoysala king, Vira Ballala III, founded the city which later formed the nucleus of the Vijaynagar Empire. Dr. N. Venkataramanyya in his work *Kampili and Vijaynagar*, a very recent publication, rejects the theory of the Hoysala school of writers and points out that Vira Ballala III could not have founded Vijaynagar as he had been engaged in a terrible and devastating war with the Raja of Anegondi and the Sultan of Delhi on the one hand and the Sultan of Madura on the other, between 1328 A.D. and 1346 A.D., the period during which the city was founded. He says that Harihar and Bukka founded the city of Vijaynagar in the period of unrest following the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq.

In 1486 or 1487 Narasingha Saluva, the powerful governor of Chandragiri, displaced the Sangama dynasty and usurped the throne of Vijaynagar. But the rule of his dynasty lasted only till 1505, when after the death of his son Immadi Narasingha, Vira Narasingha, son of the famous general Narasa Nayaka, a Tuluva, deposed the last Saluva ruler and occupied the throne for himself. The Tuluva dynasty produced a ruler of considerable merit and ability named Krishna Deva Raya, whose reign lasted from 1509 to 1529 or 1530. He was one of the most famous kings in the history of India in those times. Under him the Empire of Vijaynagar rose to the highest pitch of glory. A great warrior, a benevolent king, and a patron of learning, Krishna Deva Raya was not unmindful of the territorial expansion of the Empire. He reduced the fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore District, and in 1520 he recovered the Raichur doab from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, whose capital was temporarily occupied by his army. He reduced the fortress of Kulbarga, the ancient capital of the Bahmanis, and in the campaigns between 1509 and 1519 defeated and subordinated Prataparudra, the Hindu (Vaishnava) Raja of Orissa, and annexed the East coast up to Vizagapatam. He granted concessions to the Portuguese traders. In 1510 the Portuguese Governor Albuquerque sought his permission for building a fort at Bhatkal, which was granted when they seized Goa. Paes, the Portuguese chronicler, who visited India about 1522 A.D., testifies to his qualities in the following terms: "He is the most learned and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage . . . . He is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has in fact nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things." "He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal learnings were in favour of Vaishnavism . . . . Krishna Ray's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people; and above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmans, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs, who sheds a lustre on the pages of history."[7] Thus when the old Afghan Empire had split up into parts, the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar was in the sunshine of prosperity and glory. The Portuguese regarded the capital of Vijaynagar as " the best provided city in the world.")

(This spirit of revival and the attempt to found a Hindu dominion on the ruins of the Delhi Sultanate was also present at this time among some of the Rajput states, the most notable of which was the Guhilot principality of Mewar) In or about 1509 Rana Sangram, grandson of Rana Kumbha, carried forward the work of building up a Rajput power begun by

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[7] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-1909*, p. 126.

Hammira and Laksha, and fairly accomplished by Kumbha (1433—68). He was a man of great military powers and was a terror to the Muslim states. Devoted to military activities all through his life, his body bore the signs of eighty wounds in addition to an eye blinded and a leg crippled. He fought successfully against Gujarat and repulsed an invasion of Mewar by Ibrahim Lodi. It has been already noted how he helped Medini Rai of Chanderi against Mahmud II of Malwa, who was taken as a captive to Chitor but was released after three months. The economic resources and the military forces of Mewar were thoroughly organised, and it was clear that any other power aiming at supremacy in Hindustan would have to contest it with him. He welcomed the prospect of destruction of the remnant of the Delhi Sultanate by Babar's invasion even as it had been broken up by his ancestor's raid, and hoped that, like Timur, Babar would leave India to work out its own fate and thus give him his chance.

(The Hindu Kingdom of Orissa was also under powerful rulers. There were also some other principalities where the Hindus maintained their independence.) Babar writes in his *Memoirs*[8] "The most powerful of the pagan (Hindu) princes in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijnagar (Vijaynagar). Another is the Rana Sanga, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword . . . . There are a number of other Rais and Rajas on the borders and within the territory of Hindusthan, many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Mussalman Kings."

(Thus on the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate, there was a revival among the Hindu states, and these came forward with a bid for supremacy in the south as well as in the north. It should also be noted that all of the Muslim states of India at that time were not ruled by foreigners; the independent rulers of Gujarat, Ahmadnagar and Berar were of Indian origin. So even if a Muslim power in India itself could rise now to successfully check the growth of Hindu ascendancy, that would only have led to the establishment of an imperial rule from within India. But Babar's invasions and exploits destroyed the chances of a native Indian government, whether Hindu or Muhammadan. It opened the way for another foreign (Central Asiatic) Turkish rule, which at a critical period was backed up by another foreign power, Persia, and was finally consolidated by Akbar who adapted himself to the times and the situation, and wisely and cautiously acted up to the modernistic forces, which had already appeared in the history of India. But subsequently the return of the medieval features like religious intolerance, pseudo-chivalry, etc., sapped the foundation of this rule and prepared the ground for the political enterprises of the modern Western European nations, out of which the English at length came out victorious to wield the political destiny of India.

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[8] Leyden and Erskine, p. 312.

Babar

Babar was a Chaghtai Turk and a direct descendant of Timur who had invaded India and ravaged its capital city in 1398, while through his mother he was connected with the great Mongol (Mughal) conqueror Chingiz Khan (1226). Born in 1483 he inherited from his father (d. 1494) the small principality of Farghana (one of the fragments of what once was Timur's empire) when he was only eleven years old. His early life was not that of a prince brought up in a bed of roses; a varied training in the school of adversity enabled him afterwards to steer through the vicissitudes of fortune and to make courageous efforts for bettering his lot. He formed the plan of re-establishing himself on the throne of Timur and took possession of Samarqand in 1497. But the rivalry of his kinsmen and near relatives in Farghana and the jealousy of

Shaibani Khan, a chief of a rival Turki tribe, the Uzbegs, compelled him to give up his cherished object. In his second invasion of Samarqand he was defeated by the Uzbeg Chief at the battle of Archain in June 1503, and was compelled to live the life of a homeless wanderer for about a year, his own patrimony of Farghana being also lost to him. For some time the rising power of the Uzbegs kept the Timurids off from their principalities, but a rebellion in another part of Shaibani's dominions gave the opportunity to Babar for occupying Kabul and Ghazni in October 1504. On the 6th March, 1508, his eldest son, Humayun, was born at Kabul. It was a significant event in Babar's career, ensuring the continuity of his dynasty and his system of government. He now assumed the semi-sovereign Persian title of Padshah (Regent or Viceroy) in place of that of Mirza which he had so long used. Having secured the help of Ismail, the founder of the Safavi dynasty in Persia, who had crushed the Uzbeg Shaibani Khan, he invaded Samarqand in October 1511. But he was finally defeated by the Uzbegs under Shaibani's son in 1512. Being thus unsuccessful in all his attempts in the North-West, he thought of realising his ambitions in the South-East. But he had to wait for twelve years before he could find a proper opportunity to give effect to his scheme.

He was not, however, sitting idle during this period, but led several raids into Indian territory. Thus in 1519 he besieged and took Bajaur in the frontier with great slaughter of the Hindu defenders and then crossing the Indus claimed the Punjab as his inheritance from Timur. In 1520 he turned again towards Central Asia, conquered Badakhshan, which was subsequently placed in charge of his son Humayun for more than two years after the battle of Khanua. Advancing in the direction of the Indian plains Babar took Qandahar from the Arghuns in 1522 (who were thus pushed into Sindh). But the real opportunity came when he was invited from within India.

The Delhi Sultanate for a century and a quarter existed only in name; the temporary revival under the Lodis (after 1450) was marred by the mutual jealousies and feuds of the Lodi nobles and reactionary policy of some rulers of this dynasty. The discontent of the subject population must have been heightened by the increasing scarcity of metallic currency in the country since Timur's invasion, which produced lower and lower prices in this time, and thus made the producers of the country poorer; the weak but vindictive rule of Ibrahim Lodi had further generated a feeling of discontent among the Afghan nobles. His cruel treatment of Dilwar Khan, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, the most powerful noble of the Punjab, brought this discontent to a head. Daulat Khan and Alam Khan, an uncle of Sultan Ibrahim and a pretender to the throne of Delhi, sent an invitation to Babar to invade Hindustan. In this way, revenge and ambition, persecutions and disaffection, worked out the destiny of the decadent Delhi Empire and sowed the seeds of a fresh Turkish rule in India lasting for another two centuries.

Baber asman

Babar, a man of adventurous and daring spirit, at once responded to the call which presented him an excellent opportunity for giving effect to his long-cherished ambition. He occupied Lahore in 1524; but such occupation was not what his host Daulat Khan desired. He had hoped that Babar would retire after a raid, leaving the field clear for him; and so he now began to harbour hostile designs in his mind against Babar. Though faithful for a time, Alam Khan also soon broke his engagements with Babar and joined hands with Daulat Khan. Babar therefore had to retire to Kabul, where he began to plan for another invasion of Hindustan.

Determined to strike once more[9] he issued forth from Kabul in November 1525, and soon reoccupied the Punjab.

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[9] He writes in his *Memoirs*: "Having placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution and my hand on the reins of confidence in God, I marched against Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sikandar, son of Bahlol Lodi the

Battle of Panipat.
Q.N.- 2.

Daulat Khan Lodi surrendered in abject submission and was pardoned. The conquest of Delhi was, however, a more difficult task; but the spirit which sustained Babar, the boy-ruler of Farghana, as he captured, lost and recaptured throne after throne, and advanced up to the Punjab, did not fail him in the face of this difficulty.

Babar then advanced from the Punjab and in two marches reached Panipat. Here, with an army of 12,000 men, he met the forces of Ibrahim, which were immensely superior in number (100,000 according to Babar's estimate) on April 21, 1526. But Ibrahim's numbers could not stand before Babar's clever combination of cavalry and artillery.[10] Ibrahim's soldiers were mostly mercenaries and the Sultan himself, as Babar writes, "was a young inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight." Babar won the day and Sultan Ibrahim lay dead on the field of battle with the flower of his army after a desperate resistance. Babar writes: "By the grace and mercy of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust." The victory at Panipat was quickly followed by Babar's occupation of Delhi and Agra. He distributed the treasure that fell into his

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Afghan, in whose possession the throne of Delhi and the dominions of Hindusthan at that time were."

[10] Gunpowder and artillery were in use in Indian states from the middle of the 15th century, if not earlier, (e.g., in Jaunpur about 1450); native Assamese accounts claim for Assam the first use of gunpowder in India. This is also noted by Abbe Raynal in his work named '*A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* (1780), Vol. I, p. 316. This change in armaments is another modernistic feature in 15th and 16th century Indian history, probably the result of contact with the Mongols (12th to 15th cent.).

hands among his relatives and friends. To "every soul, man or woman, slave or free, of age or not" living at Kabul he gave a silver coin as a token of Royal favour. He removed the unwillingness of his mountaineer soldiers to stay on in the hot climate of India by an earnest appeal and then subdued the Afghan chiefs in the Doab and elsewhere.

(But before he could found an empire in India Babar had to meet a more formidable foe. A collision was inevitable between the already revived Hindu power and the invasion of a foreigner adventurer trying to impose his yoke on India. The expansion of Vijanagar, now at its height, was no doubt checked by the barrier of the five new Sultanates of the Deccan; but there was the rising power of Mewar closer to the scene of action. Rana Sangram Singh, the greatest Hindu warrior of the age, came forward to challenge the onward progress of Babar. It has been suggested by Erskine,[11] apparently on the basis of a statement in Babar's *Memoirs*, that while at Kabul he had received a promise from the Rana that if he attacked Sultan Ibrahim from the Delhi side, the Rana would attack the Sultan from the Agra side, and that the conflict between them was due to both of them accusing each other of a breach of promise. But the cause of their conflict was clearly something more fundamental: the old native India was reasserting itself, striving for a national kingdom, while the Delhi Sultanate lay practically dismembered, flouted by contending Afghan nobles.

Rana Sangram Singh marched up to Biana and was joined by Hasan Khan Mewati, one of whose sons had been captured by Babar at Panipat but had been released afterwards, and by several other Muslim supporters of the Lodi dynasty. Babar knew it well that it was not a very easy task to encounter the Rajputs, who being(" energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour." Rana Sangram Singh had under him 120 chiefs, 80,000 horse and 500 war elephants. The rulers of Marwar, Amber, Gwalior, Ajmer and Chanderi, and Sultan Mahmud Lodi, another son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, whom the Rana had acknowledged as the King of Delhi, had flocked to his standard.

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[11] Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 462.

The report of Rajput chivalry and martial spirit struck Babar's troops with panic, and just at that time the ominous predictions of an astrologer from Kabul further disheartened them. But Babar was indomitable, and he at once took measures to instil fresh courage and enthusiasm into their hearts. (He broke his drinking cups, poured out his stores of liquor on the ground, vowed never again to touch strong drink, and summoning his officers together he addressed a heroic appeal to them to fight together unto death with faith in victory and God, and this had its desired effect.) All his officers swore by the Holy Qoran to stand firm in the contest. The decisive battle was fought at Khanwah, a village due west from Agra, on the 16th March, 1527. The use of similar tactics as at Panipat brought victory to Babar, though the Rajputs fought desperately. The slaughter was great, but the Rana escaped through the help of his followers and died broken-hearted after about two years.

Battle Khanwa

7. The battle of Khanwah (or Khanua) supplemented Babar's work at Panipat and it was certainly more decisive in its results. At Khanwah there was a trial of strength between a foreign invader and a revived national power. The latter succumbed making it easier for the former to found a fresh alien dynasty and rule. The Rajput confederacy once again received a great shock from its defeat at the hands of another Muslim invader. But the statement that the Rajputs "ceased henceforth

to be a dominant factor in the politics of Hindustan "[12] can be accepted only with a considerable amount of limitation. A study of the history of Mughal India as a whole would show that after Khanwah, the Rajputs retire only for the time being from the field of politics; they reappear once again after thirty years and make their influence felt for close upon two centuries. Nor is the tide of Hindu revival completely checked for those thirty years,—since Sher Shah had to struggle with the Rajput states, and his descendants fell into the power of Himu who assumed the title of Vikramaditya. This much however is certain that Babar's task now became easier, and Rushbrook-Williams rightly remarks that before the battle of Khanwah " the occupation of Hindustan might have been looked upon as a mere episode in Babar's career of adventure; but from henceforth it becomes the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away; the fortune is his and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is also significant of Babar's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindustan."

Following up the success at Khanwah, Babar next stormed and captured the fortress of Chanderi, not long ago the stronghold of the famous Rajput chief Medini Rai, in spite of the gallant defence and bravery of the Rajputs.[13] In the meanwhile the Afghans of Bihar had declared for Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim, after the failure of his Rajput supporters. Babar sent his son Askari to suppress the Afghan rising and himself proceeded a little later. On his approach most of the Afghan chiefs made their submission and Mahmud found refuge with Nusrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal, just as fifty years ago Husain Shah of Jaunpur found refuge with his name-sake, the predecessor of Nusrat Shah, when he was ousted by the Lodis. Babar thereupon proceeded further and defeated the Afghans in the battle of the Gogra, near the junction of that river with the Ganges above Patna, in May, 1529. "Good generalship had once more guided valour to victory. The result was the collapse of the Afghan rebellion, and the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Bengal. In three battles Babar had reduced Northern India to submission" and became the ruler of a territory extending from the Oxus to the Gogra and from the Himalayas to Gwalior, though considerable gaps here and there had yet to be filled in.

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[12] Rushbrook Williams, *Empire-builder of the sixteenth century*, pp. 156-57.

[13] Erskine, *History of India*. Vol. I, p. 483.

But he was not destined to enjoy his hard-won empire for long. He passed away prematurely on 26th December, 1530, at the age of forty-seven. From the well-known anecdote about his taking over his son's illness upon himself, it would appear that his death was as romantic as his whole life. As the Muhammadan historians tell us, Humayun began to recover after this mysterious transfer while Babar's health declined more and more till he succumbed to a sudden disorder of bowels. His body was at first laid at Arambagh in Agra but was taken to Kabul, in Sher Shah's reign, and was buried in a garden which he loved very much.[14]

Babar had won an extensive empire by his own military prowess, unbending energy, and indomitable spirit. "But there was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast empire. Hardly any law could be regarded as universal but that of the unrestrained power of the prince. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and

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[14] He had a special fondness for Kabul about which he himself said: 'The climate is extremely delightful, and there is no such place in the known world. Drink wine in the citadel of Kabul and send round the cup without stopping it, for it is at once mountain and stream, town and desert.'

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(we may almost say) every village was governed, in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs . . . . There were no regular courts of law spread over the kingdom for the administration of justice . . . All differences relating to land, where they were not settled by the village officers, were decided by the district authorities, the collectors, the zemindars or jagirdars. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil, but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint."[15] After conquest, Babar had hardly any sufficient time to introduce new laws or to establisd a well-organised administration. He accepted the existing decayed system and divided the country into fiefs which he distributed among the jagirdars dependent upon himself. The medieval feudal system and its evils could not yet be eradicated, and India was still, as Erskine observes, "rather a congeries of little states under one prince than one regular and uniformly governed kingdom. Many of the hill and frontier district yielded little more than a nominal submission."[16] The unsettled state of the country and Babar's lavish expenditure in offering gifts and presents to his followers[17] and in remitting certain duties for the Muslims affected the financial stability of his empire. Thus, as Prof. Rushbrook-Williams has rightly remarked, Babar "bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless, and invertebrate."[18]

Achievements

Babar is one of the most interesting and important figures in Asiatic History. He was not a bloodthirsty conqueror carrying death and devastation before him. With higher qualities of head and heart, he was a loving father, a considerate master and a generous friend. As Mr. Lane-Poole observes: "He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamarlane and Akbar. The blood of the two scourges of Asia, Chingiz and Timur, mixed in his veins, and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tartar he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the listless Hindu; and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar achieved. His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line, but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful memoirs in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Babar was not the less a man of fine literary taste, and fastidious critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of Inlia, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse." His Memoirs, which occupy a high place in the history of world's literature, were translated into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan in the time of Akbar in 1590. These were translated into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826 and into French in 1871. Mrs. Beveridge has also published a revised edition.

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[15] Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 528.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 530.

[17] S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

[18] *Empire-Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 162.

Babar was a passionate lover of nature. The hills, the streams and the meadows of his native land were objects of his love, and the springs, lakes, plants and fruits had all a special charm for it. Though addicted to drinking, he was not a dead drunkard who sacrificed duty for his drink. At the call of duty before the battle of Khanwah, he finally gave up drinking. He had a firm faith in God and was himself a lover of truth. He thus assures the readers of his *Memoirs*: "I do not write this in order to make a complaint: I have written the plain truth. I do not set down these matters in order to make known my deserts; I have set down exactly what happened. In this history I have held firmly to it that the truth should be reached in any matter, and that every act should be recorded precisely as it occurred." Thus Babar occupies an important place in history, as an early appreciator of the true spirit of history.

SECTION III

HUMAYUN AND HIS EARLY WARS

Three or four days after the death of Babar, his eldest son, and successor-designate, Humayun, ascended the throne in December, 1530, when he was twenty-three years old. But it was not an easy throne which he inherited and his situation was not free from danger and difficulty. Among the Muslims the law of primogeniture was not rigidly followed in practice, and the younger princes to whom were assigned large governments or appanages tried to assert their claims to the throne by force. As Mr. Erskine remarks, "The sword was the grand arbiter of right; and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers."[19] Humayun could not rely on the army, which was not a national one connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghtai, Uzbeg, Mughal, Persian, Afghan and Indian. There were also many Khans or nobles at the court, who were engaged in machinations for the possession of a fellow-adventurer's throne, and whose intrigues might render the position of Babar's heir precarious at any moment. Thus both the camp and the court were unreliable.

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[19] *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 2.

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Moreover, as we have already noted, Babar could not leave behind him a well-organised and consolidated empire, with the different elements in the state under control. In fact, he had not been able to conquer the whole of Hindustan in the proper sense of the term. "He had entered the country as a stranger and a spoiler; he had defeated the armies and broken the power of the reigning dynasty; but the only hold which he, or his race, yet had upon the people of India was military force."[20] The Rajputs had only been temporarily cowed; many Afghan nobles, who held fiefs in the different parts, had not forgotten about Afghan rule, which had been supplanted only a few years back. They had not joined their sincere attachment to the rule of the new dynasty. "Though repeatedly defeated in the field, they were still numerous and powerful, ripe for revolt, and ready on the first signal to fly to arms in what was a personal as well as a national cause." They had also the advantage of possessing " a rallying point " in Sultan Mahmud Lodi, brother of Sultan Ibrahim, whose cause was (after Sangram Singh's failure) supported by the leading Afghan nobles. Sher Khan had already taken up arms in Bengal and Bihar towards the close of Babar's reign and was trying to organise the Afghans into a native ruling power. The authority of the Mughals was also menaced in the south-west by the growing power of Gujarat under Bahadur Shah. To add to all this, Humayun's brothers were looking forward to a dismemberment of the empire on their father's death, and this was sure to weaken the military resources of Humayun by depriving him of some of the best recruiting areas.

Such a situation required a ruler of great tact and ability. But though accomplished in certain respects and possessed of intellectual interests as well as humane instincts,[21] Humayun lacked the tact and discretion of his father as well as his resolution and perseverance. As Mr. Lane-Poole writes: "He was incapable of sustained effort, and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium eater's paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished; light-hearted and sociable, he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate' and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled."

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[21] S. K. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

The first act of indiscretion committed by Humayun was that he tried heedlessly to satisfy his brothers, probably under the dying behest of his father, instead of bringing them under control. To Askari he gave the province of Sambhal, to Hindal that of Alwar; and Kamran, the eldest of the three, was confirmed as the governor of Kabul and Qandahar. But so insincere was the brotherly attachment, that far from being satisfied with this, Kamran soon proceeded at the head of a large army towards Hindustan under the pretence of congratulating his brother on his accession. He crossed the Indus and brought the whole of the Punjab under his sway. Humayun could not offer any opposition but after some delay issued a *firman* formally conferring on Kamran the government of Kabul Qandahar and the Punjab. He also ceded to him the district of Hissar Firoza to the east of the Punjab proper. Thus the integrity of Babar's empire was imperilled by its division between Humayun and Kamran. Moreover, the new Mughal rule in India was dependent for its strength on the army and recruits from the Indus region and beyond, and the possession of these parts by Kamran meant that Humayun was cut off from his chief recruiting ground. Besides, the acquisition of Hissar

Firoza gave Kamran the command of the high road between the Punjab and Delhi.

Humayun's early military operations were, however, marked with success. Six or seven months after his accession he proceeded to besiege the fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand, whose Raja was "probably in the interest of the Afghans." But, owing to an uprising of the Afghans in the east, he retreated after realising a large sum from the Raja and marched towards Bihar.

The Afghan menace engaged Humayun's attention for the time being.[22] He defeated them in a battle at Dadrah or Dourah in August, 1532 and expelled Sultan Mahmud from Jaunpur, when the latter fled to Patna and to Bengal, where he died a natural death in 1542-43. Humayun next laid siege to the fortress of Chunar (February—June, 1533) then held by Sher Khan. But instead of completely crushing that rising Afghan chief, he accepted "a purely perfunctory submission," thus allowing him to strengthen his own position while he himself was called away to the other extreme of his empire for checking the pretensions of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah had given various provocations to Humayun. He had extended his territories at the expense of the Rajputs of Mewar who had then fallen from power, guided by the weak hands of their impolitic prince Bikramjit (Vikramaditya). After conquering Malwa from them, Bahadur Shah had advanced up to Chitor. Many of the Afghan refugees and enemies of Humayun had found shelter at Ahmedabad, and Bahadur finansed their enterprises. He openly refused to deliver up Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the eldest son-in-law of Babar, to Humayun or even to expel him from his dominions. Humayun thereupon proceeded against Bahadur, and arrived in Malwa towards the end of 1534, when he found Bahadur engaged in the siege of the fortress of Chitor. Rani Karnavati of Mewar sought Humayun's help but could not get it.[23] Instead of attacking Bahadur at once or trying to win the inestimable friendship of the Rajput chiefs by joining them he waited, and allowed Bahadur to crush the Hindu infidels. Thus he lost an important opportunity of inflicting a decisive blow upon his enemy Bahadur and at the same time of winning over the Rajputs to his side as supports of his new empire. His chivalry towards a Muslim foe might be praised, but his policy was wrong. The ultimate storming of Chitor (March, 1535) by Bahadur with the help and advice of the Turkish engineer "Rumi" Khan (of Constantinople) and the Portuguese and other European artillery men left Bahadur free to meet Humayun though his situation was not free from other dangers. Rumi Khan soon turned a traitor, and Bahadur was opposed by the forces of Humayun on the banks of a large artificial tank near Mandasor.[24] He was defeated (April, 1535) and was pursued from Mandu to Champaner and Ahmedabad, and then to Cambay till he found refuge in the island of Diu.[25] By the month of August, 1535, the conquest of central Gujart was concluded by Humayun.

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[22] Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 10—12; *Akbarnamah*, Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 10.

But a reaction soon followed in the Mughal camp. Flushed with their victory, Humayun, his brother Askari and his followers gave themselves up to feasts and revelry. "His affairs fell into confusion; the government of the provinces was neglected; and even his own camp became a scene of uproar and insubordination." This encouraged Bahadur to try for recovering his position and he was welcomed almost everywhere.[26] Askari was too weak to retain Gujrat and internal dissensions soon broke out among the Mughals, which enabled the old ruler to recover his overrun territories. In the meanwhile the Afghan menace had appeared once again in the East in a more real form under Sher Khan, and Humayun had to turn his attention towards that quarter. No sooner had he begun his return march than Malwa also was lost to the Mughals. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces: the next saw them as quickly lost." Thus, partly througd his own indecision and partly through the folly and disaffection of some of his own men, Humayun failed to establish his authority in the West, when he was called upon to meet the organised strength of the Afghans.

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[23] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June 1932.

[24] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 49.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 45—60.

wrong date

[26] Bahadur was not destined to live long. In a scuffle between his own men and the Portuguese, Bahadur, who suspected treachery, jumped into the sea and was drowned in 1537. (Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 18.)

CHAPTER II

THE AFGHAN REVIVAL: SHER SHAH AND THE SURS

THE victory of Panipat had made Babar the master of Delhi, but the Afghan nobles were seething in discontent against the new Mughal rule. We have already seen how they had been roving hither and thither in quest of help and looking for an opportunity to strike a blow against the Mughals. But the situation needed something more than spasmodic and isolated efforts. It was necessary that the Afghans should be moved by a common ideal, should carry on the contest under a common organisation and should act under the leadership of a man of parts, if they wanted to revive their rule. It was Sher Shah who worked out this Afghan or rather Indo-Moslem national revival, and effected a temporary but glorious restoration of native Muhammadan rule in India.

Sher's original name was Farid. He was the son of Mian Hasan and grandson of Mian Ibrahim, an Afghan of the tribe of Sur, who lived near Peshawar. Ibrahim came further east in search of military service during the latter part of Sultan Bahlol Lodi's reign (1451—1488). He found an employment with Jamal Khan Sarangkhani in Hissar Firoza in the Delhi District, and it was in the city of Hissar that Farid was born in 1472. He was taken to Sahsaram by his father who had migrated there on his master's receiving the governorship of Jaunpur. Farid had to spend his early years in the midst of his father's indifference and his stepmother's intolerance. But this proved to be a blessing in disguise for him, as it forced upon him a life of struggle and adventure, which equipped him with a good training for future activities. Arriving at the age of discretion, he left his father's home and went to Jaunpur where by good industry and steady application he soon acquired an uncommon familiarity with the Persian and Arabic languages and literatures. He could reproduce from memory the *Gulistan*, *Bustan* and *Sikandarnamah*.[1] This promising young man, with his keen intelligence and talents, soon attracted everybody's favour at Jaunpur. Jamal Khan, his father's patron, effected a reconciliation between the father and the son. Farid returned to Sahsaram and was entrusted with full powers for administering the *paraganas* of Sahsaram and Khawaspur, places dependent on Rohtas in Bihar. His firm and wise administration of those *paraganas* (1497—1518) excited his stepmother's jealousy, who contrived his second expulsion from his father's *jagirs*. Thus after "serving his period of apprenticeship for administering the Empire of Hindusthan," Farid now took refuge in Agra.

After his father's death (1525), he took possession of his father's *jagirs* on the strength of a royal *firman*, which he had procured from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Agra. But the intrigues of his father's enemies, combined with the machinations of his stepmother, placed various difficulties in his way. Soon he entered the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, who had made himself the independent ruler of Bihar. By dint of his diligence and faithful service, he soon became a favourite of Bahar Khan and received from him the title of Sher Khan, for his gallantry in killing a tiger single-handed. He was soon nominated the deputy (*Vakil*) of his master and was appointed tutor (*Ataliq*) of his minor son, Jalal Khan.

Sher now returned to his father's *jagirs*, but was deprived of these again, owing to the machinations of his intriguing kinsmen, who alienated his master Bahar Khan (Sultan Muhammad as he was called after the first battle of Panipat) from him. "Impressed by the complete success of Mughal arms and the prospect of princely fortune there, he thought of entering the Mughal service and making himself a leader of independent means equal in status with any other Afghan chief."[2] He joined Babar's camp (as Chandragupta did Alexander's) and remained there for about fifteen months (April, 1527 to June, 1528); in return for the help he rendered Babar in his eastern campaigns, the latter restored him to his paternal *paraganas*.

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[1] Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 6.

Sher soon left the service of the Mughals and again became the deputy of Jalal Khan, the son of his earlier master Bahar Khan. As a guardian of this minor king, he ruled Bihar in his name, while the actual control of the government passed into his hands. Sher Khan, gradually "elevated himself to a state of complete independence and gained the attachment of the greater part of the army by the bounties and honours lavished upon them, so much so that within the frontiers of Bihar no one dared disobey his orders."[3] He saved the small Afghan kingdom in Bihar from consuest by the Bengal ruler Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah by defeating him in 1529. The fortress of Chunar also luckily came into his possession. Tej Khan, the Lord of Chunar, was killed by his eldest son who resented his father's dotage on a younger wife, Lad Malika; this widowed lady, however, married Sher Khan and delivered the fortress of Chunar into his hands, together with vast wealth.[4] Sher Khan remained neutral in the Afghan rising of 1531 against Humayun.[5] The latter, however, besieged the fortress of Chunar when Sher saved himself by submission.[6] As the

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[6] *Vide* ante, p. 28

power of the old Afghan nobles declined, Sher Khan became in fact the dictator in the Bihar government. But Jalal Khan and the Lohani nobles "were almost mad with vexation at this unexpected triumph of the grasping deputy." Sher Khan was indeed trying for supreme power and it was natural for Jalal Khan to try for his removal. But the attempt of Sher's enemies to get rid of him by murder failed owing to his 'unusual circumspection' and treachery among the Lohanis.

Jalal Khan even tried to free himself from his overpowerful deputy by seeking the support of the Bengal Sultan, who was also anxious to check the growth of Sher's power, which had caused some loss of his prestige and territory. But Sher Shah at last came out successful in his contest with the Lohanis and extended his territories to the east as far as Surajgarh. His victory at Surajgarh in 1534, adding further to the extent of his kingdom, marks a turning-point in his career. "Great as it was as a military achievement, it was greater in its far-reaching political result . . . But for the victory at Surajgarh, the jagirdar of Sahsaram would never have emerged from his obscurity into the arena of Hindustan politics to run, in spite of himself, a race for the Empire with hereditary crowned heads like Bahadur Shah and Humayun Padshah."[7]

This victory brought Bihar under his control, but he still aprehended the designs of Humayun and moved cautiously. Sher got an opportunity when Humayun became embroiled in a war with Bahadur. He then turned his attention towards Bengal, and by defeating all resistance offered by the troops of its ruler, Mahmud Shah, appeared before its capital, Gaur, in 1536, not through the usual route by way of the Teliaghari passes but through "another less protracted" but infrequented way.[8] The weak ruler of Bengal soon made a peace with him by paying him thirteen lakhs of gold pieces. The "territory from the Kiul to Sikrigali, some 90 miles in length with a breadth of 30 miles at various places" was ceded to Sher. His moral prestige was also immensely increased, and, as in the West, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was then a fugitive at the island of Diu, most of the Afghan nobles now transferred their allegiance to Sher Khan, the rising sun in the East. Sher invaded Bengal a second time in October or November, 1537, and closely blockaded the city of Gaur. The repeated successes of the Afghan hero had in the meanwhile convinced Humayun, who had been then spending his days at Agra without any activity after his return from Mandu in August, 1536, of the formidable nature of the Afghan menace in the east. With a view to suppressing it he left Agra in July, 1537. But he committed a tactical blunder at the very beginning, because instead of marching straight to Gaur where, in combination with the Bengal king, he might have inflicted a crushing defeat on Sher Khan, he besieged Chunar. The strong garrison left by Sher Khan at Chunar defended the fort heroically for six months though it was ultimately captured by the assailants in March, 1538. This period, however, "afforded a most valuable breathing-time for Sher Khan,"[9] who utilised it in reducing Gaur (April, 1538). He had also seized the fortress of Rohtas by a piece of consummate treachery, where he sent his family and treasures in June-July, 1538. Humayun, after all this, turned towards Bengal, and captured Gaur (August, 1538) and renamed it Jinnatabad or the 'Paradise City.' But Sher Khan effected his escape from it almost about the same time and tried to compensate his loss of Bengal by occupying the Mughal possessions in Bihar and Jaunpur, and plundering the country as far west as Kanauj.

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[7] Qanungo, p. 104.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 119—28.

Humayun had been spending his time in Bengal in repose when the news of Sher Khan's successes in his rear disconcerted him. He left Gaur and proceeded hastily to oppose Sher Khan, who, with his Afghan followers, met the imperial forces at Chaunsa near Buxar and inflicted a defeat on them (26th June, 1539).

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[9] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 140.

By the victory at Chaunsa "the horizon of Sher Khan's ambition was immensely widened." Humayun's power and prestige sank low, and Sher Khan banished all thought of acknowledging his authority. He became the *de facto* ruler of the territories "bounded on the west by the bend of the Ganges from Kanauj to Chunar, on the south by the hills of Jharkhand (from Rohtas to Birbhum) and the Bay of Bengal, on the east by the hills of Assam and Chittagong, and on the north by the Himalayas." He legalised his conquests of the sword by formally assuming the royal title (Khan being changed into Shah) and by ordering the coins to be struck and the *Khutba* to be read in his own name. Next year, Humayun again tried to retrieve his fortune, but in spite of his best efforts he failed to secure the co-operation of his faithless brothers. His troops were also demoralised, and Sher Shah inflicted a terrible defeat on him at the battle of the Ganges or Bilgram, commonly known as the battle of Kanauj (17th May, 1540). As a result of this victory the throne of Delhi passed into the hands of the Afghans, and the Mughal Emperor was reduced to the position of a helpless fugitive.

Sher Shah's conquests did not stop there. While pursuing the Mughals in the Punjab, he turned his attention towards the Gakkhar country, a mountainous tract, which lay between the upper courses of the Indus and the Jhelum and was inhabited by many warlike independent tribes. The conquest of this tract was necessary for strategic reasons, because an invader from the north-west could easily march through this region and enter into the heart of the Punjab with the support of these warlike tribes. The whole tract was ravaged by

Sher Shah, but he could not reduce it thoroughly as the rebellion of the Bengal Governor soon demanded his presence there. He marched towards Bengal about the middle of March, 1541, leaving his able lieutenants with 50,000 troops for bringing the country under control.

After dismissing the rebellious Governor of Bengal, Sher Shah "changed the military character of the provincial administration and substituted a completely new mechanism, at once original in principle and efficient in working; he thus broke away from the medieval tradition, and introduced modernism in Indian administration. He reduced the extent of the provinces and divided them into several units, each of which was to be governed by an officer directly appointed by him and responsible to him alone.[10] He next tried to uproot the Rajput influence in the West, that, 14 years ago, had threatened to dominate all over Northern India. After conquering Malwa, he directed his arms against Puran Mal of Raisin. After a slight resistance, the garrison in the fort of Raisin capitulated on terms, by which the Rajputs promised to evacuate the fort if they were allowed to pass "unmolested" beyond the frontier of Malwa. But as soon as the Rajputs came out of the walls of the fort, the Afghans, burning with fanaticism, fell on them furiously. The Rajputs destroyed their wives and children, and with the characteristic gallantry of their race died to a man fighting against their foes. The treacherous massacre of the Raisin garrison has been severely condemned by many writers.[11] Prof. Qanungo has, however, tried to exonerate Sher Shah[12] from the charge of deliberate treachery. But it is hard to acquit him of any responsibility in

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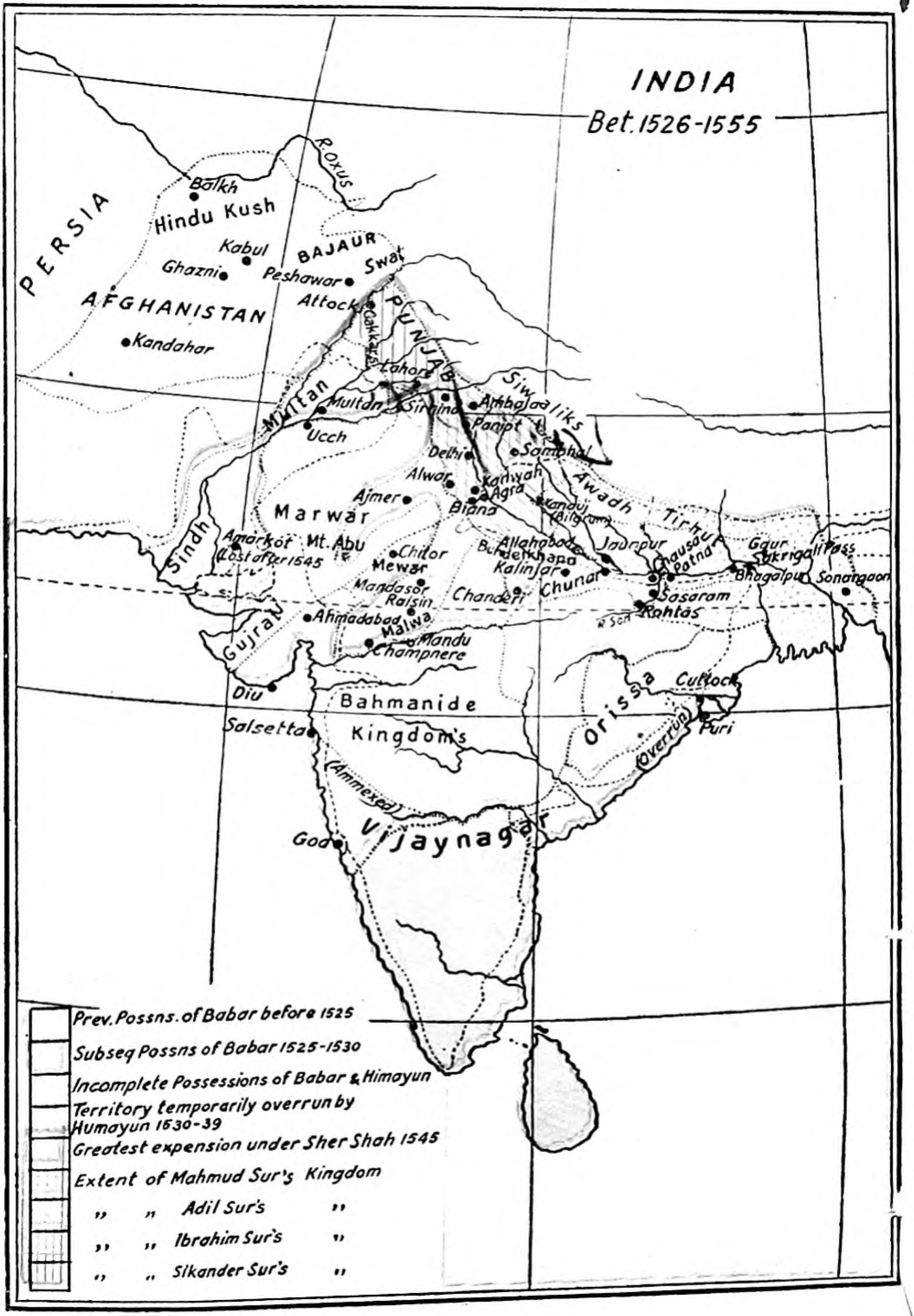
[10] Qanungo, p. 241; Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 162.

[11] Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 456; Elliot, Vol. IV, p. viii (Preface); Erskine, Vol. II, p. 434.

[12] Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, pp. 297—99.

Stewart's

Lanepool



INDIA
Bet. 1526-1555

PERSIA
R. Oxus
Balkh
Hindu Kush
Kabul
BAJAUR
Ghazni
Peshawar
Swat
AFGHANISTAN
Attock
Gakkars
PUNJAB
Kandahar
Lahore
Multan
Multan
Sirhind
Ambala
Siwaliks
Panipt
Ucch
Sambhal
Delhi
Alwar
Kanwah
Agra
Awadh
Ajmer
Biana
Kanauj
(Bilgram)
Tirh
Marwar
Sindh
Amarkot
(Lost after 1545
Mt. Abu
Chitor
Mewar
Allahabad
Bundelkhand
Kalinjar
Jaunpur
Chausa
Patna
Gaur
Sukrigali Pass
Bhagalpur
Sonargaon
Chunar
Mandasor
Raisin
Chanderi
Sasaram
R. Son
Rohtas
Ahmadabad
Malwa
Gujrat
Mandu
Champnere
Diu
Bahmanide
Kingdoms
Orissa
Cuttock
(Overrun)
Puri
Salsetta
(Ammexed)
Goa
Vijaynagar
Prev. Possns. of Babar before 1525
Subseq Possns of Babar 1525-1530
Incomplete Possessions of Babar & Himayun
Territory temporarily overrun by Humayun 1630-39
Greatest expension under Sher Shah 1545
Extent of Mahmud Sur's Kingdom
" " Adil Sur's "
" " Ibrahim Sur's "
" " Sikander Sur's "

the matter, and it can be said that this incident remains a dark spot on Sher Shah's reputation. Multan and Sindh were conquered by the Governor of the Punjab, and Sher Shah personally proceeded against Maldev, the Rajput Rana of Marwar. When the Rajputs presented a bold front, Sher Shah tried to defeat their valour by cunning. He sent to Maldev several forged letters supposed to have been written by the Rajput generals to himself promising obedience. Thus deceived, Maldev retreated from the field. But the Rajput generals, whose sense of honour had been deeply touched, fought with desperate valour. Sher ultimately won a victory at a great cost, having been on the point of losing his empire for a handful of millets. Then after reducing the whole region from Ajmer to Abu, he proceeded to besiege Kalinjar. The fort was captured, but Sher Shah was accidentally burnt by an explosion of gunpowder and died on 22nd May, 1545. Sher Shah's empire extended from Sonargaon in the east to the Gakkhar country in the north-west; and on the south and the north it reached the Vindhya and the Karakoram ranges respectively.[13]

Administration :-

1) Sher Shah was not only a great conqueror, but he also showed greater qualities as an administrator. Appearing like a bright comet in the sky of Indo-Moslem history for a period all too short, he yet brought with him wise and beneficent reforms in every conceivable branch of administration, which have influenced many of the famous administrators of India in succeeding ages. (Mr. Keene has affirmed that "no government—not even the British—has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan."[14]) He was not a medieval military autocrat like his predecessors, who strengthened the top by neglecting the bottom in the body-politic of the realm, but he was endowed

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[13] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Allahabad Session)*, pp. 337—38.

[14] *Turks in India*, p. 42.

with the spirit of an enlightened despot, which led him to apply all the powers of his active mind to the task of devising a system of government for the people which was strong as well as beneficent. He wanted to build his greatness on the happiness and contentment of his subjects and not by oppressing them. Among the Muslim rulers of India, " Sher Shah was the first who attempted to found an empire broadly based upon the people's will."[15]

The empire of Sher Shah was divided into " regular provinces," Bengal only being " subdivided into smaller governorships ostensibly with a view to minimise the chances of rebellion."[16] Each province was the highest administrative unit, the next one being a *sarkar*. Each *sarkar* was subdivided into *paraganas*. In each *paragana*, Sher Shah appointed one *Amin*, one *shiqdar*, one treasurer, one Hindu writer and one Persian writer to write accounts. The *shiqdar* was entrusted with police duties, and the Amin with the collection of revenues and probably also with some other administrative duties. Over each *sarkar* he appointed a *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* and a *Munsif-i-Munsifan*, who were to look after the work of the subordinate *paragana* officers. He also introduced a practice of transferring the officers both in the *paragana* and the *sarkar* every two or three years. He extended his personal supervision over every branch of the administration.

In organising the army, he accepted the main principles of Alauddin's military system, and made it stronger and more efficient. Instead of relying on the services of a body of retainers or a feudal levy, he maintained soldiers each of whom owed an allegiance to him and was bound to the immediate commanding officer by an official tie and not one of personal

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[15] Crooke, *Memoirs of the Races of the N.-W.-Frontier Provinces, of India*, Vol. II, p. 97.

[16] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Allahabad Session)*, pp. 337—45.

Indian

and feudal attachment. He recruited the soldiers directly and personally and fixed their salaries after proper inspection. Thus Sher Shah introduced another modern element in the history of India. He revived Alauddin's system of branding (*dagh*) horses to prevent corruption and introduced the "practice of taking down the descriptive rolls." There was however nothing like Akbar's *mansabdari* system; the Afghans would have been offended by such gradations of service. Parts of the army were stationed in different strategic points of the empire. One such part was called a *fauj* and was under the command of a *faujdar* whose duties were purely military. Sher Shah himself kept under his direct command 150,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry, well-trained and armed with muskets and bows. He admitted Hindus to important positions in the army: one of his best generals was Brahmajit Gaur, who was sent in pursuit of Humayun after the battles of Chaunsa and Bilgram. He enforced a strict discipline, and the soldiers were particularly enjoined to refrain, during their marches, from destroying in any way the crops of the cultivators. If the crops of any cultivator were injured then the state repaired his loss, while the offenders were punished.

Sher's revenue reforms increased the resources of the state and at the same time protected the interests of the people. Lands were surveyed under proper supervision, and one-fourth of the gross produce was fixed as the government revenue.[17] It was payable in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter mode. The rights and liabilities of the *rayats* were fixed; he took from every individual *rayat* a *kabuliyat* (agreement) and gave him a *patta* (title-deed) in return. Usually the revenue was collected by the *muqaddam* but the *rayats* were sometimes encouraged to pay direct to

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[17] Prof. Paramatma Saran contends that "Sher Shah used to charge one-third of the produce as revenue," *B. & O. Research Society's Journal*, March 1931. prof. Paramatma

Saran contends
"Sher Shah used to charge

the *paragana* treasury. He insisted on strictly punctual and full payment of the amount assessed and enforced it where necessary. The revenue officers were instructed to be lenient at the time of assessment but to be strict in the matter of collection.

His reforms of the currency and the tariff system are eloquent proofs of his statesmanship. "Sher Shah's reign constitutes an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage, not only in its specific mint reforms but also as correcting the progressive deteriorations of the previous kings, and as introducing many of those reforms which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own."[18] His tariff reform furthered the cause of trade, by freeing it from vexatious internal customs at various places. He allowed the levy of customs on merchandise only at the frontiers and at the place of sale.

He connected the different parts of the Empire by reconstructing and making new alignments of old high roads for public convenience as well as for the defence of the Empire. The longest road was that which ran from Sonargaon (near Dacca) to the Indus, 1500 *kos* in length. There was another road from Agra to Burhanpur,[19] a third road from Agra to Jodhpur and the fort of Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads and sarais were built at short regular distances, separate arrangements being made for Hindus and Muhammadans. These *sarais* were maintained from the lands near them granted by the state for that purpose. In every *sarai* there was a well, a masjid, a staff of officers who were generally an *imam*, a *muezzin*, and several watchmen. Prof. Qanungo remarks that "these were the veritable arteries of the empire, diffusing a new life among its hitherto benumbed limbs."[20] Busy market towns developed near some of those *sarais*, and there the people exchanged agricultural products in return for commodities of comfort. They also served the purpose of *dak-chaukis* or post-houses supplying Sher Shah's government with news from the distant parts of the empire. These systems were not of course new to India but were restored from decay, improved and extended by Sher Shah.[21]

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[18] Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan kings*, p. 403.

[19] Some writers hold that this road ran upto Mandu.

He did not rest satisfied with simply the construction of roads, but made then safe for travel and trade by establishing a highly efficient police system. Without subjecting the people to frequent and unnecessary interference by the police he tried to enforce the principle of local responsibility for local crimes. For any untraced theft, robbery or murder within the jurisdiction of an *Amil* or *Shiqdar*, the *Muqaddams* (village headmen) had to find out and produce the culprits before the government officers, on pain of heavy state-regulated penalties in cases of failure, and dealt in cases of personal implication. Though primitive and simple, this system contributed to the maintenance of peace and security within the country. All the Persian writers testify to its efficiency. Nizamuddin, who cannot be said to be biased in favour of Sher Shah, says: "Such was the state of safety of highways that if anyone carried a purse full of gold (pieces) and slept in the desert (i.e., deserted places) for nights, there was no need for keeping watch."[22] There was also a system of espionage which supplied Sher Shah with detailed information about what happened in his kingdom.[23] He was impartial in administering justice and made no distinction between the high and the low. He did not spare even "his near relations, his dear sons, his renowned nobles." The criminal law was severe, and criminal justice was in the hands of the chief Shiqdar. The chief *Munsif* dealt with revenue cases, while other civil cases were tried by the *Qazi* and the *Mir-i-Adal*.

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[20] *Sher Shah*, p. 392.

[21] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 443; Qanungo, pp. 393—95.

[22] Quoted in Qanungo, F. 397.

[23] Qanungo, p. 393.

Though a devout Mussalman, Sher Shah was not a bigot. His attitude was intellectual and he followed a policy of toleration towards his Hindu subjects. Gifted with the keen vision of a true statesman, he realised that a Muslim ruler of India could ignore and hurt the sentiments of the Hindu subjects only at the risk of his own authority. "His attitude towards Hinduism" remarks Prof. Qanungo, "was not one of contemptuous sufferance but of respectful deference; it received due recognition in the state."

Sher Shah, who from his position as the son of a *jagirdar* made himself the Emperor of India and the exponent of the Afghan national revival, was one of the greatest rulers that this country has produced. Though he undertook many military expeditions in order to realise his ambitions, yet he was not a man of cruel nature or blood-thirsty temperament. "He was a veritable father to his people; stern to the unruly, but all kindness and love to the weak, the disabled and the destitute." The royal kitchen, in keeping with old Indian tradition, was open for the needy and the famished. As a soldier also he was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and forbade his soldiers to commit acts of rapine and plunder. "In his military character," remarks Mr. Erskine, "there was a rare union of caution and enterprise."[22] He did not hold the throne for personal enjoyment and luxuries, but he cherished a lofty ideal of kingship. Like Asoka and Harsha he followed the maxim that "it behoves the great to

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[24] *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 447.

be always active." He possessed an indefatigable industry, which he applied to the service of the state, every department receiving his minute attention and careful supervision. He initiated some new laws and improved some old ones. Erskine remarks: "Sher Shah had more of the spirit of a legislator and of a guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar."[24] He had also a taste for buildings, which is testified to by his mausoleum at Sahsaram, which has been extolled as one of the finest specimens of Indo-Moslem architecture. For his noble activities, and the strength and purity of his personal character, Sher Shah deserves a high place in history. Free from medieval political and religious dogmatism, his mind was full of many of those modern ideas which have influenced history in succeeding ages. By his administrative and economic reforms, and the policy of religious toleration, he prepared the ground for Akbar's work With a liberal mind, uninfluenced by religious fanaticism, he tried to build up a national state by reconciling the followers of rival creeds. Dr. Vincent Smith rightly observes: "If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Moghuls' would not have appeared on the stage of history. His right to the throne was quite as good as that of Humayun."[24] It should also be noted that while Humayun was a foreigner, Sher Shah's family, a frontier one by origin, had lived in the heart of India for three generations, and "Sher Shah was personally far abler than his rival."

The Afghan revival began with Sher Shah and almost ended with his death. After him, dissensions appeared once again among the Afghans, and the independent attitude and refractoriness of the Afghan nobles impaired the strength

[25] *Ibid.*, Vol. p. 443.

[26] *Oxford History of India*, p. 329.

and unity of the Pathan Empire.[27] "The whole kingdom was in a flame in consequence of the diversity of interests and the number of pretenders to the throne." On his death, his second son, Jalal Khan, who happened to be then at Rewah, was proclaimed king under the name of Sultan Islam Shah, commonly known as Selim Shah. Islam Shah was an able ruler. In order to strengthen his own position against intrigues of his elder brother and of the Afghan nobles he had to take recourse to drastic measures. After securing his father's treasures in Chunar, he accomplished the death of some hostile nobles by stratagem. He was jealous of the despotic power of some of the great Amirs who governed the more important provinces, and the first object of his wrath was Shujjat Khan, Governor of Malwa. The latter, however, saved his position by timely submission to the Sultan. But on hearing that Azim Humayun, the governor of the Punjab, had raised the standard of rebellion, Islam Shah proceeded to suppress it and defeated the rebels at the battle of Ambala.[28] The second attempt of Azim Humayun against the Sultan also ended in failure and he fled to Kashmir where he was shot dead by some of his tribesmen.

Islam Shah followed a systematic plan in regulating the affairs of the kingdom and adopted various measures to keep the nobles under control. He deprived them of their war elephants, appropriated to himself all the revenues of the kingdom and kept himself informed of all that happened in his kingdom through spies. He maintained something like a standing army and stationed troops in different parts of his dominion. He resumed all the *jagirs* and paid their holders in money. "His internal administration was excellent. The *Kanungoes*, who kept the revenue accounts of *parganas*, he employed to watch over and report on the condition of the ryots, and the state of cultivation of the crops, and the extent of offences and crimes."[29] He retained most of the wise reforms of his father and promulgated a comprehensive code of laws. In civil cases justice was administered by the secular *Munsif* and not by the ecclesiastical *Mufti* or *Qazi* as before.

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[27] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 461.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

Islam Shah died on 30th October, 1553,[30] and was succeeded by his young son Firuz Khan, who was shortly murdered by Mubariz Khan (son of Nizam Khan Sur, Sher Shah's younger brother and brother of Firuz's mother Bibi Bai), who ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Adil Shah. He was pleasure-loving, cruel, indolent and incompetent. The control of affairs passed into the hands of Himu, who, though a low-born and uneducated Hindu shopkeeper, was a man of intelligence and vigour. He was in fact a self-made man, who rose in state service by sheer merit: originally a Baniya of Rewari in Mewat, he became Superintendent of Markets, then Director-General of the Army and the Emperor's Chief Minister. But the suspicious temper and the follies of his master foiled his best efforts and it became impossible for him to check the disruptive forces which were slowly undermining the strength of the empire. Rebellions broke out in different parts,—in Bengal, Malwa and the Punjab. Muhammad Adil's own cousin Ibrahim forcibly took possession of Delhi and Agra and assumed the titles and the insignia of royalty. But Ahmed Khan Sur, the governor of the Punjab, who also assumed the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah, proceeded against Ibrahim and defeated him at Farra (about ten kos from Agra). The latter fled to Sambhal, and Sikandar, who had now taken possession of the whole country from the Indus to the Ganges, was declared Emperor by the Afghans. But a house divided against itself cannot stand for a long time, and, torn by internal dissensions, the Afghan Empire followed the path of decay, till the final blow was struck in the field of Panipat in 1556. The disturbed situation encouraged the Mughals to appear once again after an exodus of about two decades, and the second battle of Panipat restored their lost dominion founded by the first battle thirty years ago.

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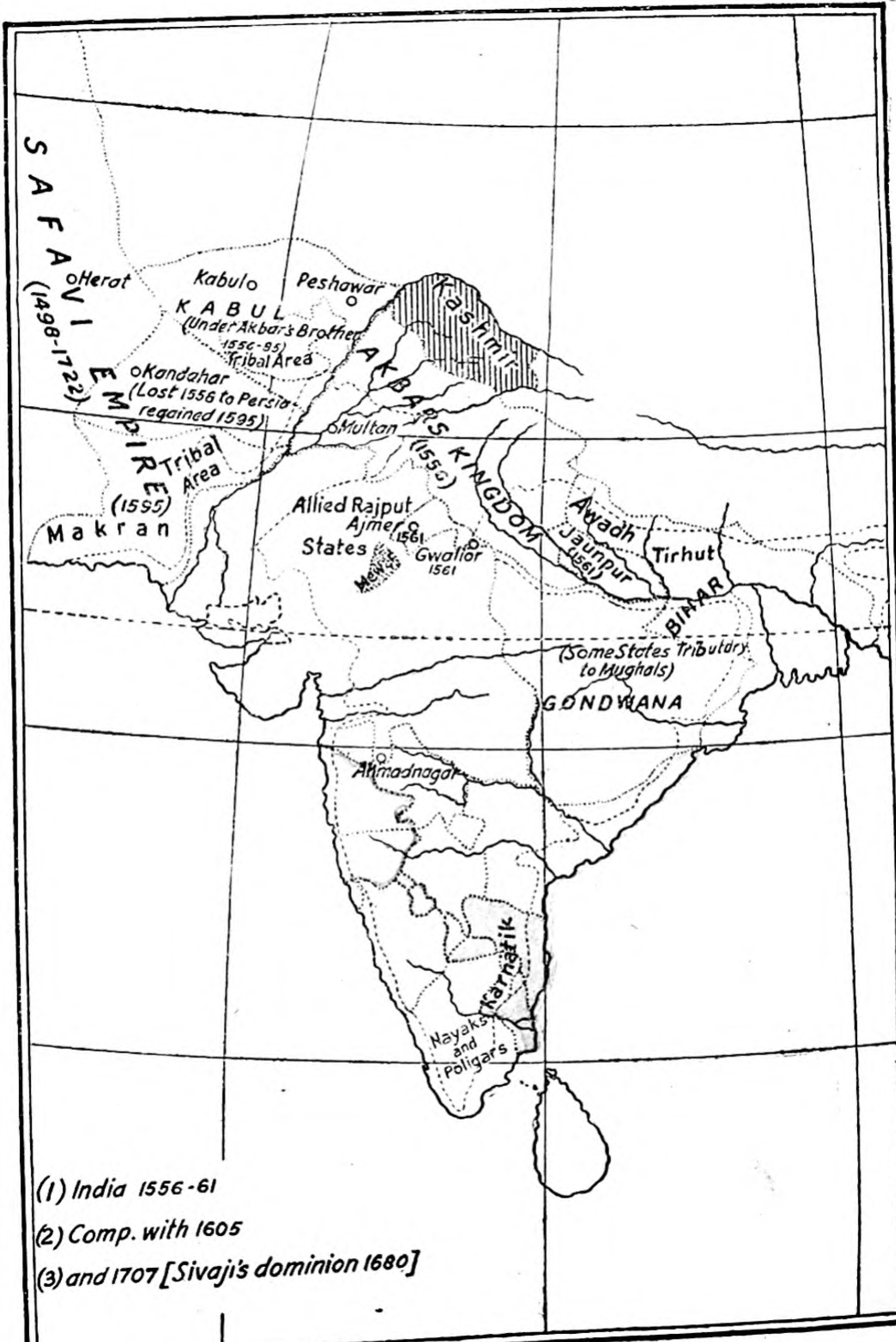
[29] Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 472.

[30] N. B. Ray, *Successors of Sher Shah*, p. 43. For a detailed account of his administration and character, vide *ibid.*, pp. 53—64.


SAFAVI EMPIRE
(1498-1722)
Herat
Kabul
Peshawar
KABUL
(Under Akbar's Brother
1556-85)
Tribal Area
Kashmir
Kandahar
(Lost 1556 to Persia
regained 1595)
Multan
AKBAR'S KINGDOM
(1556)
Tribal Area
(1595)
Makran
Allied Rajput
States
Ajmer
1561
Mewar
Gwalior
1561
Awadh
Jaunpur
(1561)
Tirhut
BIHAR
(Some States Tributary
to Mughals)
GONDWANA
Ahmadnagar
Karnatik
Nayaks
and
Poligars

(1) India 1556-61

(2) Comp. with 1605

(3) and 1707 [Sivaji's dominion 1680]

CHAPTER III

RESTORATION OF MUGHAL DOMINION

HUMAYUN AND AKBAR (UP TO 1562)

AFTER the battle of Bilgram, Humayun had crossed the Ganges and proceeded towards Agra, where he "found little to console him. The quarrels of the brothers and their mutual jealousies had thrown everything into disorder."[1] Somehow taking possession of his family and a part of their treasure, he went on to Delhi. But finding it impossible to hold the city, he left for Sirhind, being pursued by the victorious Afghans. Yet he got no help from his brothers. Instead of unity there was all suspicion, jealousy and distrust among them, and especially Kamran's conduct was very unkind. He then left for Sindh and laid siege to Bhakkar, but there also fortune went against him, because the hostile measures of Shah Husain, who held the government of Sindh, and the influx of a large number of fugitives, caused scarcity of food in his camp.[2] While thus wandering in the deserts of Sindh in the hope of finding a rallying ground, he contracted, early in 1542, a lucky marriage with Hamida Banu Begum, daughter of Shaikh Ali Ambar Jaini, who had been preceptor to Humayun's younger brother Hindal. Finding no sympathy from his brothers, Humayun next tried to secure the help of Maldev, the Rajput chief of Jodhpur, who promised to help him with a contingent of 20,000 Rajputs. But the Rajput chief failed to keep his words for fear of Sher Shah, and the discrowned Emperor, without making any further attempt at winning over the Rajput States, sought refuge in Amarkot, where the local Hindu chief Rana Prasad promised to help him in conquering Thatta and Bhakkar. After he had moved a few miles towards Sindh, his son Akbar was born on the 15th October, 1542.[3] Humayun had nothing to celebrate this happy occasion but a pod of musk, which he distributed among his principal followers, saying: "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." Soon after this Humayun proceeded towards Bhakkar with 1,000 men, but the Rajputs and the Mughals could not act together, and the ruler of Bhakkar entered into a treaty with him by which he agreed to supply him with 30 boats, 10,000 *mishkals*, 2,000 loads of grain and 300 camels to enable him to proceed to Qandahar. Kamran, who had by that time made himself the master of the entire Afghanistan, refused to give an asylum to Humayun. Askari and Hindal had also gone over to Kamran's side.

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[1] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

Thus "driven from every spot of which he had lately called himself master, and viewing with the deepest dread, the possibility of falling into the hands of his brother, he resolved to abandon the kingdom of his father and threw himself on the dubious and untried generosity "[4] of the ruler of Persia leaving his one-year old child at Qandahar. Shah Tahmasp, the young ruler of Persia, received Humayun hospitably on his arrival there. But the Shah promised to help Humayun only if the latter conformed to the Shia sect of Islam. With the advice of his well-wishers and through the mediation of the Shah's sister, Humayun concluded a formal treaty with him by promising to declare himself a Shia, to have the Shah's name proclaimed in the Khutba, and to cede Qandahar to him in case of success. The Shah thereupon placed at his disposal a force of 14,000 men with the help of which he captured Qandahar (1545) and Kabul. The Shah of Persia, however, did not get Qandahar, which remained in Humayun's hands, and this later on led to hostilities between the Mughals and the Persian Empire. Kamran was driven out of Kabul and Humayun recovered his little son Akbar, who had been exposed to many perils by his uncle. Mirza Hindal was killed in a night encounter; Kamran, failing to get support at Salim Sur's court and betrayed by the Gakkhars, was imprisoned and being deprived of his eyesight, was sent to Mecca with his devoted wife; Mirza Askari was also allowed to proceed thither.

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[3] The date 23rd November, as stated by Smith, has been rejected by latest researches. Vide *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta Session*, pp. 1002—1012.

[4] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 274. Humayun wrote the following in a quatrain to the ruler of Persia: "I hope that the Shah will out of kindness treat me as Ali treated Salaman in the desert of Arzhan."

Al Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 572.

Being free from all his rivals in the north-west, Humayun turned towards the reconquest of Hindustan. The dissensions among the successors of Sher Shah gave him an opportunity. In November 1554 he took the road to the plains of Hindustan, and in February, 1555 Lahore fell into his hands. Sikandar Sur, the rebel governor of the Punjab, was defeated in a battle near Sirhind, and in July Humayun occupied Delhi and Agra. Thus Humayun effected his restoration to his father's dominions. But he was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victory gained after much toil and hardship; a sudden fall from the staircase of his library at Delhi caused his death on 26th January, 1556. Humayun had only achieved a temporary military success; he had no time to organise and consolidate, and the real restoration of Mughal rule was still a difficult matter. Akbar, then in the Punjab with Bairam Khan on state business, was formally enthroned in a garden at Kalanaur (a small town fifteen miles west from Gurdaspur town) on 14th February, 1556, when he was a mere boy of thirteen and had therefore to accept the regency of his father's old friend and adviser, Bairam Khan. But, as Dr. Smith observes, "the enthronement of the boy Padshah simply registered a claim to sovereignty. When he went through the ceremony at Kalanaur he could not be said to possess any definite kingdom. The small army under the command of Bairam Khan merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjab, and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Padshah in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions."[5]

The India of 1556 presented a complex as well as dark picture. It was no well-organised political unit but was divided into a number of independent states, each striving for supremacy. The civil wars of the Surs had undone many of the beneficial reforms of Sher Shah; in fact, after Islam Shah, these were hardly worked out for the welfare of the subjects. A terrible famine had ravaged the country for two years. Both Badaoni[6] and Abul Fazl have described the horrors of this visitation.[7] In the north-west Kabul was in the hands of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother, who governed it practically in an independent manner. In the north, Kashmir was under a local Muhammadan dynasty and the Himalayan states were similarly independent. Sindh and Multan had freed themselves from imperial control after the death of Sher Shah. Bengal had fallen into the hands of the Sur Kings; and though Muhammad Adil Shah had been expelled from Delhi by Ibrahim Khan (Sur), his minister, Himu, was making preparations for preventing the establishment of Mughal however defeated near Jalandhar and was brought before Akbar, who forgave his former guardian and treated him with generosity and consideration for his services. He was now allowed to start again for Mecca in a manner befitting his position and past services, but on his way he was stabbed to death (January, 1561) by a Lohani Afghan, whose father had been killed in the battle of Machhiwara (1555), where the Mughal forces had been under the command of Bairam Khan. His camp was plundered, but his family was somehow saved from the hands of the Afghans; his little son Abdur Rahim was taken under Akbar's protection and became afterwards the premier noble of the Empire.

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[5] *Akbar*, p. 31.

[6] Ranking's translation, Vol. I, pp. 549—91.

[7] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 21.

The removal of Bairam Khan did not, however, immediately transfer the reins of government into Akbar's hands. For two years more his foster-mother Maham Anaga with her son Adam Khan and relatives maintained an undue ascendancy in the state. In 1560 an expedition against Malwa was sent under Adam Khan and Pir Muhammad. They defeated (1561) Baz Bahadur, the Afghan ruler of the country, son of Shujjat Khan who had died in 1555, near Sarangpur (now in the Dewas State, Central India Agency) and captured much booty. But they committed great oppressions on the people, which have been vividly described by the historian Badaoni, who was himself an eye-witness[19] of those scenes. Adam Khan sent only a few elephants to Akbar and appropriated to himself "most of the elephants, and the ladies of the harem, and the dancing-girls belonging to Baz Bahadur, and all his precious things."[20] Akbar, therefore, marched in person to Malwa in order to punish Adam Khan, but the latter obtained his pardon through his mother's intercession. Akbar recalled Adam Khan from Malwa making over the government of the country to Pir Muhammad. But the latter also misused his power by committing brutal cruelties[21] and managed things in such a wrong way that Baz Bahadur in conjunction with some Zamindars inflicted a defeat on him and recovered Malwa. About this time Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka Khan, who had come from Kabul in the month of November, 1561, was appointed by Akbar to the office of vakil (minister) but Maham Anaga, who "regarded herself as the substantive prime minister," did not like this transfer of premiership from her hands. Her son Adam Khan, instigated by Munim Khan. Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and others, who were jealous of Muhammad Atka Khan, murdered him when the latter was engaged in public business at the palace. At this Akbar's resentment against the undue influence of his foster-mother burst forth; he ordered his attendants to throw Adam Khan down the ramparts of the fort as a result of which he met with a speedy death. His mother also followed him to the grave forty days later. It should not be concluded that Maham Anaga's son could be thus deprived of his life because she had no real influence in the state. This incident is to be regarded rather as a desperate attempt on the part of Akbar to get rid of Maham Anaga's and her relatives' baneful influence under which he had been fretting and which he had naturally tried on various other occasions to check, though in vain. It was at last with the disappearance of Maham Anaga and her son (followed soon after by the similar fate of his mother's brother) that the harem or 'petticoat' influence came to an end and Akbar became free from his 20th year to act for himself and to confirm his hold on the restored dominion of his grandfather.

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[19] Vol. II, p. 43.

[20] *Ibid.*

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[21] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

CONSOLIDATION, EXPANSION AND ZENITH OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1562—1707)

SECTION I

THE DYNASTY, AND THE SUCCESSION IN THE EMPIRE

AKBAR occupies a unique position in the history of Muslim India. His reign, which lasted till 1605, saw the real consolidation of the Mughal Empire. Born in the midst of a desert, when his father was a crownless wanderer from place to place, and trained in the school of adversity, Akbar's mind was plentifully sown with the seeds of greatness. He inherited a kingdom, weak and broken, but left it strong and consolidated by his uncommon abilities as a ruler. Even a hostile critic like Badaoni has testified to his masterly personality. Such was its grandeur that "anybody even at the first glance would recognise him as a king." Jahangir remarks in the Memoirs that his father "in his actions and movements was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him."[1]

Like other Timurid princes he was a man of great courage and possessed an extraordinary physical strength. He was devoted to hunting excursions and sports from his boyhood. He knew no fear either in the pursuit of game or in the field of battle, and "like Alexander of Macedon, was always ready to risk his life, regardless of political consequences."[2] He sometimes plunged his forces into the full-flooded rivers during the rainy season and safely crossed over to the other side. He enjoyed animal combats and gladiatorial fights, but he did not indulge in cruelty for its own sake. His heart was full of deep affection towards his mother, other relatives and little children. He was not unnecessarily revengeful, and we find that a repentant rebel could often secure his pardon, for example he treated his brother Hakim very kindly though the latter had rebelled against him. He was sometimes subject to outbursts of wrath and on such occasions the culprits were summarily dealt with, as he had done with his uncle Muazzam and his foster-brother Adam Khan. But he quickly recovered his normal temper and "as a rule he had perfect self-control."[3] His manners were exceedingly pleasant.

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[1] The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or Memoirs of Jahangir translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 33—37.

[2] V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 339.

Akbar was moderate in his diet and took one meal a day, not at any fixed hour but when hunger required it. He had little liking for meat and gave it up entirely in his later years. He himself says: "From my earliest years, whenever I ordered animal-food to be cooked for me, I found it rather tasteless and cared little for it. I took this feeling to indicate the necessity for protecting animals and I refrained from animal-food." He was fond of fruits and was addicted to hard drinking in his early youth, but he drank less in his later years.

Whether Akbar was technically literate or not is still a point of controversy. Recently some writers have tried to prove his literacy.[4] This much, however, is certain that he was a man of varied literary taste and great intellectual curiosity. He had a wonderful and accurate memory which helped him to stock his mind with all kinds of useful information. He was interested in different branches of learning, such as philosophy, theology, history and politics, on the difficult problems of which he could even express his own views. He gathered round him a band of scholars, poets and philosophers, and maintained in his palace a library containing books on various subjects. These books were read out to him by the scholars and thus he gained a fair acquaintance with Asiatic Literature, especially the writings of Sufi poets. He learned from the Jesuit missionaries the tenets of Christianity and the story of the Gospel; and he acquired some knowledge of the principles of Hinduism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism from the most reputed teachers. Thus Akbar's intellectual and moral culture was pretty high. Besides these, he had a good taste for art, architecture and mechanical works, and himself effected some improvements in the manufacture of match-locks. Such an all-round genius cannot be really described as an illiterate person.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 341.

[4] Maulvi Shibili, in his work called *Sher-ul-Ajam* (Persian Poetry) announced on the authority of *Maisir-ul-Umra* that Akbar used to attend his tutor's house to learn *Hadis* (the traditions of the Holy Prophet Muhammad). Cf. Mr. A. Hameed Hasan's paper on 'Was Akbar Illiterate?' (The *Liberty*. 30th December. 1931).

He was endowed with an indomitable energy and took keen interest in the minutest details of administration.[5] He used his abilities not for establishing a despotism by destroying the rights and liberties of his subjects, but he was gifted with the farsightedness of a true statesman, who laid the real foundation of the Mughal Empire in India on the goodwill and support of the governed. Thoroughly liberal in his ideas, he did not try to stem the tide of the cosmopolitan Indian Reformations (the *Bhakti* and *Mahdavi* movements) of the sixteenth century by appealing to orthodoxy and fanaticism, but he wisely utilised the modernistic tendencies of his age for constructive work. In short, he wanted not to go backward by checking the "invasion of ideas"[6] in his time, but to go forward in thought, culture and politics. Unlike many of his predeces-

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[5] "His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline."—(*Ain-i-Akbari*. Vol. I, p. 157.) One is reminded of Curzon.

[6] *Vide* the Section on 'Religious Policy of the Mughals.'

SRINAGAR

sors at Delhi, he did not regard his empire as affording a grand opportunity for personal enjoyment, but he held a high ideal of kingship. If we may believe in his own words, that ideal was as set forth below :—"A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of God. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action. His gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just government and due recognition of merit; that of his people in obedience and praise." "Tyranny is unlawful in every one, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world. Falsehood is improper in all men and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed the shadow of God, and a shadow should throw straight."

Akbar was not a visionary, but he tried to act up to his ideal. Dr. V. A. Smith, relying mainly on the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries, has remarked that "tortuous diplomacy and perfidious action . . . on several occasions marked the emperor's political proceedings."[7] But the said author has himself acknowledged that "a certain amount of finesse" is "inevitable in diplomacy and politics." As we have seen, Akbar did not inherit an easy throne from his father and he had to fight against various disintegrating forces before he could firmly establish his empire. Circumstances necessarily forced upon him a strict and careful policy in following which he might have sometimes taken recourse to diplomacy but it should not be forgotten that he did not regard it as an end in itself but as a means to an end. His methods and policy were certainly not more tortuous and crooked than those of his European contemporaries like Elizabeth of England or Philip II of Spain. In honesty and straightforwardness he was superior to those European sovereigns of his time. From all points of view, Akbar can be ranked with the greatest rulers in the world.

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[7] *Akbar*, p. 342.

Prince Salim Shah Jahan

The last days of Akbar were embittered by the rebellious conduct of his unworthy son Salim. By 1601, Salim, who was then thirty-one years of age, became eager to acquire the throne, for which he took recourse to open rebellion against his father. All the remonstrances and threats of Akbar failed to win back the rebel son; he moved to Allahabad, where he set himself up as an independent King, striking gold and copper coins in his own name, and entered into intrigues with the Portuguese for furthering his design. In June, 1602, Akbar summoned Abul Fazl, who was then in the Deccan, to help him in the matter, but the latter was murdered on the way by Bir Singh, the Bundela chief of Orchha (eight miles from Jhansi), who had been hired by Salim for the purpose (August 1602). This ghastly murder deeply wounded Akbar's feelings and he tried to punish the murderer, who, however, successfully evaded capture.[8] In 1603 Sultana Salima Begum effected a temporary and insincere reconciliation between the father and the son, who again proceeded to Allahabad where he began to exercise his privileges as heir-apparent in a very oppressive manner.[9]

Meanwhile the nobles at the Imperial Court, including Raja Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam (Aziz Koka), had been forming a plot to prevent Salim's succession to the throne and to place his son Khusrav on it. Both these grandees were actuated by private motives, because Khan-i-Azam's daughter was the only wife of the Prince Khusrav[10] and Raja Man Singh was the brother by adoption of his mother. But the plot failed owing to a strong opposition by several other nobles and officers of the kingdom. Khan-i-Azam in the end recognised the claims of Salim and Raja Man Singh started for the Subah of Bengal with Prince Khusrav.

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[8] *Takmila-i-Akbarnamah*, Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 113-14.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 112; V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 313.

[10] Terry, who met Prince Khusrav several times, writes that he was "gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people . . . . the very love and delight of them all . . . He was a man who contented himself with one wife . . ."—Terry, *Voyage to East India*, 1777 edition, p. 411

Prince Murad had died in 1599, and the death of Prince Daniyal (at Burhanpur in April, 1604) from the effects of intemperate drinking, removed all rival claimants from the path of Salim, who then became reconciled to his father. Akbar treated him like a petulant child, gave him several effective slaps on his face and rebuked him severely, before he was pardoned (November, 1604). The old Emperor was attacked with fever accompanied by acute diarrhoea or dysentery in September, 1605, and died on 17th October, a victim to poisoning as rumour went.

Salim formally ascended the throne at Agra, a week after his father's death, on 24th October, 1605, at the age of thirty-six and assumed the title of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir Padshah. He signalised his accession by issuing a large number of new coins, by releasing prisoners,[11] and by setting up the famous chain of justice[12] between the Shah-burji in the fort of Agra and a stone-pillar fixed on the banks of the Jumna, for enabling the aggrieved persons to lay their complaints before him. He then issued the twelve celebrated regulations, which he ordered to be observed as common rules of conduct in his dominions.[13] He granted a general amnesty to all his previous opponents and confirmed them in their

[11] Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 130.

[12] Jahangir himself says: "I ordered that the chain should be of pure gold, and be thirty gaz long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindusthani *mans*, equal to thirty-two *mans* of Irak." Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 284; Rodgers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 7. The cost must have been about three lakhs.

[13] Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 284—87; Rodgers and Beveridge, Vol. I pp. 7—10.

offices. Abdur Rahman, the son of Abul Fazl, and Man Singh, son of Raja Man Singh, were prompted to the rank of 2,000. Aziz Koka was allowed to retain his rank and *jagirs* but was deprived of power and was put to various insults. Mirza Ghiyas Beg, the father of Nurjahan, was elevated to the rank of 1,500 and received the title of Itimad-ud-daulah; Shaikh Farid Bokhari, who had on one occasion distinguished himself by leading the opposition against Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka, and who was a man of great bounty and sincere soul, was given the office of *Mir Bakhshi;* Zamana Beg, son of Ghyas Beg of Kabul, was raised to the rank of 1,500 and got the title of Mahabat Khan, which he later on made a distinguished one by his military genius. But the " most disgraceful promotion " was that of Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abul Fazl, who was elevated to the rank of 3,000.

Jahangir is one of the most fascinating figures in Indian history. It is unjust to regard him as but a cruel tyrant, " soaked in wine and sunk in debauchery." Even Mr. Beveridge remarks, " Jahangir was indeed a strange mixture. The man who could stand by and see men flayed alive . . . . could yet be a lover of justice and could spend his Thursday evenings in holding high converse . . . He could procure the murder of Abul Fazl and avow the fact without remorse, and also pity the royal elephants because they shivered in winter when they sprinkled themselves with cold water . . . One good trait in Jahangir was his hearty enjoyment of nature and his love of flowers." A critical study of his career as a whole from his *Memoirs* and other original sources has revealed to the modern researchers that he was " a sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and a passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty. But, as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and an open mind."[14] Francis Gladwin has also noted that "from the beginning to the end of his reign, Jahangir's disposition towards his subjects appears to have been invariably humane and considerate."[15] He removed the practice of levying transit duties[16] and tried to prohibit traffic in eunuchs which was specially prevalent in Sylhet and other parts of Bengal,[17] but not with complete success.[18] He was well-read, and studied poetry, history, geography and biography. He possessed aesthetic tastes and loved architecture and painting. But in spite of these qualities, he was given to intemperate drinking, which impaired his health greatly. His indolence and weakness formed the greatest failing in his character. Ultimately he lost all capacity for prompt and vigorous action and became a puppet in the hands of Nurjahan and her brother Asaf Khan.

The early pleasant dreams of Jahangir were distributed by the rebellion of his son Khusrav. Five months after his father's accession, Khusrav, whose relations with him were far from being cordial since the last days of Akbar, left Agra at the head of 350 horsemen on the pretence of visiting his grandfather's tomb. At Mathura, Husain Beg Badakhshani joined him with about 3,000 horsemen, and on proceeding up to Panipath he was joined by Abdur Rahim, the Diwan of Lahore who was, like Husain Beg, coming to the Court. At

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[14] Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 440.

[15] *History of Jahangir*, by Francis Gladwin, edited by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A., p. 159.

[16] Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 290.

[17] Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 446; Francis Gladwin, *History of Jahangir*, p. 174.

[18] *Ibid.*

Tarn Taran, he received blessings and some pecuniary help from the Sikh Guru, Arjun, the editor of the *Granth Sahib* (the Sikh scripture). Then he marched towards Lahore, and laid siege to the city which was however protected by Dilwar Khan, who had reached there two days before Khusrav. Very soon the Emperor himself reached the place with a large force and defeated the rebels in a battle at Bhairowal. Khusrav escaped with Abdur Rahim, Husain Beg, and their chief followers. At the advice of Husain Beg, Khusrav decided to proceed along with him to Kabul, but they were captured by the imperialists while crossing the Chinab. Jahangir was bent on punishing his rebel son (forgetting that he had simply followed his father) and ordered his officers to bring him and his party to the *durbar*. The prince appeared before his father chained and hand-cuffed, trembling, and weeping profusely, with Husain Beg on his right and Abdur Rahim on his left. All were moved at this pathetic scene except the Emperor, who harshly reproached his son and ordered him to be thrown into prison. Cruel punishments were inflicted on the prince's followers.[19] Guru Arjun's property including his hermitage was confiscated and he was sentenced to death. Again in August 1607, when Jahangir was returning to Lahore from Qandahar and Kabul, he heard of a plot being formed, with Khusrav as its centre, aiming to murder the Emperor and to place his son on the throne of Hindustan. He executed four of the ring-leaders, and treated others with leniency, while Khusrav was blinded at his orders by Mahabat Khan. His sight was not however completely destroyed and later on when paternal love moved Jahangir, he employed a physician of Persia, Hakim Sadra by name, through whose treatment it was partially recovered.[20]

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[19] "I gave Khusrav into custody and I ordered these two villains to be inclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and had to be placed on asses, face to the tail and so to be paraded round the city."—Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 300.

Jahangir's marriage with Nurjahan forms an important event in the history of his reign. The well-known fascinating account about her birth has been discarded by modern researches, which have revealed the truth about her early life. Among the contemporary Muslim chroniclers, Mutmad Khan, the author of *Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri*,[21] states the plain facts in this matter. Her father, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, was the son of Khwaja Muhammad Shariff, who was a native of Teheran and was the Wazir of the Tartar Sultan Beglar Begi of Khorasan. Being reduced to straits after the death of his father, Mirza Ghiyas Beg proceeded towards India, with his children and his pregnant wife, under the protection of a wealthy merchant named Malik Masud. His wife gave birth to a daughter at Qandahar. Ghiyas Beg was introduced to Akbar and by dint of merit he rose to the high position of the Diwan of Kabul. His Indian-born daughter was named Mihirunnisa and on reaching the age of 17 she was married to Ali Quli Beg Istajlu, a Persian adventurer, who in the reign of Jahangir received a suitable *mansab*, a *jagir* in Bengal and the title of Sher Afghan. It was afterwards reported to Jahangir that Sher Afghan "was insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious." Jahangir asked Qutbuddin, the new Governor of Bengal, who was to him "in the place of a dear son, a kind brother, and a congenial friend," to chastise Sher Afghan. When Qutbuddin proceeded to arrest Sher Afghan at Burdwan, an affray occurred in the course of which he was killed. Sher Afghan was also killed by Qutubuddin's attendants, and his beautiful widow Mihirunnisa was brought to the court with her daughter, where she was placed in the custody of one of the dowager-queens Sultana Salima Begum. Four years after this "her appearance caught the King's far-seeing eye and so captivated him"[22] that he married her towards the close of May 1611. Jahangir conferred on his new consort the title of Nurmahal, 'Light of the Palace,' which was soon changed to 'Nurjahan,' 'Light of the World.'

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 448-49.

[21] Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 402—5.

The story that Jahangir was in love with Mihirunnisa since the time of Akbar[23] and that his infatuation for her was the cause of Sher Afghan's death, has been challenged by the Emperor's latest biographer.[24] He bases his arguments on the silence of contemporary native historians and some European travellers. The story according to him was invented by later historians like Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai and others. But he has not explained why the beautiful widow of Sher Afghan was brought by the Emperor to the court, when her father was holding an important position in the state[25] and why she was entrusted to the care of his own partisan Salima Begum.

Nurjahan possessed a superb beauty, a good knowledge of Persian literature and a refined taste for poetry and fine arts. She had "a piercing intellect, a versatile temper, sound common sense." She was physically strong, hard-working and watched every affair of the state with vigilance. Though interfering in politics she was not entirely devoid of womanly kindness and tender feelings. She became the leading spirit in the administration and her husband was reduced to the position of a puppet in her hands. But her influence was not all for good. Her heart was full of inordinate ambition, and her subtle machinations to preserve her own overbearing power gave birth to intrigues and rebellions like those of Mahabat Khan and Prince Khurram.[26] Khurram's refusal to march for the recovery of Qandahar was due also to her notorious influence. Moreover, it was under her influence that Jahangir's character and strength of will greatly deteriorated. Jahangir forgot all about the early beneficial measures and lost himself in pleasure, indolence and dissipation as the "dupe of an ambitious woman."[27] Nurjahan, he said, was wise enough to conduct the matters of state and he wanted a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to keep himself merry.[28] Her ambitious artifices sucked the life-blood of the state, for which the new fashions and tastes which she had introduced (and which have been supposed to have produced some economic prosperity) were but a poor recompense. It was therefore natural that, during the latter part of Jahangir's rule, the Empire became the scene of conspiracies, rebellions and bloodshed[29] and the administration became dull and inefficient.[30]

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[22] *Ibid.*

[23] The Dutch traveller De Laet in his 'Description of India and Fragment of Indian History' relates that Jahangir "had been in love with her when she was still a maiden, during the lifetime of Achabar (Akbar), but she had already been betrothed to the Turk Cheer Affegan (Sher Afghan) and hence his father would not allow him to marry her, although he never entirely lost his love for her."

[24] Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, pp. 177—84.

[25] Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 404

Khusrav's miserable life came to an end in 1622. According to the suggestion of Nurjahan, the hapless prince had been handed over to his deadly enemy Asaf Khan in 1616 and the latter again made him over to his rival Shahjahan (Khurram). Shahjahan took him to the Deccan, when he marched against Malik Ambar and had him murdered at Burhanpur in 1622.

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[26] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 2.

[27] Gladwin, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 159-60; Pelsaert, p. 50; Terry, p. 406.

[28] *Iqbal*, Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 405; *Hadi*, Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 398-99.

[29] Gladwin, *History of Jahangir*, p. 160.

[30] Pelsaert, p. 38.

Shahjahan soon went into open rebellion against his father, but he was defeated by the imperialists at Bilochpur to the south of Delhi in 1623. Shahjahan tried to gain supporters in the Deccan and in Bengal, but he was ultimately forced to submit to his father (1625). He surrendered Rohtas and Asirgarh and sent his two sons, Dara and Aurangzeb, as hostages to the imperial court. He himself went away to Nasik with his wife (Mumtaz) and his youngest son Murad. The hostility of Nurjahan drove Mahabat Khan also into rebellion. By a bold *coup-de-main* he made the Emperor a captive with the help of his Rajput horsemen, when he was crossing the Jhelum with his retinue on his way to Kabul. Nurjahan tried her best to rescue her husband; but all her plans being foiled, she joined him in captivity. She finally succeeded in effecting her husband's escape by stratagem, and Mahabat fled for life and subsequently joined the rebel Prince Khurram. But she was not destined to maintain her influence any longer, for the Emperor died on 28th October, 1627. Jahangir was buried in Shahdara near Lahore in the Dilkhusa garden of Nurjahan, where she afterwards erected a mausoleum.

Some sort of a struggle for succession was inevitable. Khusrav had already been done away with; and the death of Parwez from the effects of excessive drinking in October 1626 had removed another rival from the path of Shahjahan just as the similar death of Daniya had helped Jahangir. But there was still his younger brother Shahriyar, who had been married to the daughter of Nurjahan by her first husband Sher Afghan, and it was but natural that Nurjahan should try to perpetuate her influence by securing the throne for her son-in-law. At the time of Jahangir's death Shahjahan was far away in the Deccan, while Shahriyar was nearer the headquarters. The latter proceeded to Lahore, where with the help of Nurjahan he proclaimed himself Emperor and took possession of the royal treasure. But though Shahjahan was absent from the headquarters, his cause was ably served by the skilful diplomacy of Asaf Khan, Nurjahan's brother, who was the father of his favourite wife Mumtaz Mahal. Soon after Jahangir's death, Asaf Khan had sent a courier with his signet-ring to inform Shahjahan of the event; but before Shahjahan could arrive, he set up Dawarbaksh, son of the unfortunate prince Khusrav, 'as a stop-gap Padshah.' He then marched to Lahore at the head of a large force and foiled all the plans of Shahriyar, a worthless prince. who earned the contemptuous nickname of *Na-shudhani* or 'good-for-nothing.' He was imprisoned and blinded. Shahjahan hurried from the Deccan and was solemnly crowned at Agra in February 1628, and assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib-i-qiran II, Shahjahan Badshah Ghazi. He took the precaution of killing all his possible rivals and in this matter, in words of Kennedy, he "copied to the full extent the custom of Constantinople." Such is the vanity of human ambition that though, to secure his position. Shahjahan thus began his reign with murders, in the long run his own son deprived him of his throne. He was paid back in his own coin, and his pernicious example was too often followed by his descendants. He too was following the example of the previous generation, when Jahangir had revolted against his father and maltreated his rival, his own son. In fact, fratricidal struggle for possessions was in the tradition of the Chaghtai race, illustrated from the days of Humayun in the series of the Mughal succession wars. 'Princes are like crabs' had remarked wise Kautilya nineteen centuries before these.

In return for his services, various honours were bestowed on Asaf Khan; he was made the Wazir, given the title of Yamin-ud daulah and was elevated to the rank of 8,000 *Zat* and 8,000 *Sawar*. Mahabat Khan was appointed governor of Ajmere, created *Khan-i-Khanan* and *Sipah-salar* and finally enjoyed the rank of 9,000 *Zat* and *Sawar*. The city of Agra was renamed Akbarabad in honour of the Emperor's grandfather. Nurjahan was granted a pension of two lakhs a year. Henceforth she retired from public life, wore only white robes and spent her days in sorrow at Lahore with her daughter, the widow of Shahriyar. She died on 8th December, 1645, and was buried beside her husband.

As has been stated by Abdul Hamid Lahori, the chronicler of the reign, Shahjahan, soon after his accession, devoted himself to 'the strengthening of the foundation of the law of the Prophet,' which had been in a state of decline. He was an orthodox Sunni and accordingly he abolished such forms and observances (introduced by Akbar) as were obnoxious to the orthodox. By the first imperial decree, the solar computation was abolished and all state matters were ordered to be recorded according to lunar years, preference being given to the Hijra Era. He had to deal with two rebellions at the beginning of his reign. Of these the first was started by the Bundela Chief Jujhar Singh, son of Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abul Fazl; but it was suppressed by the imperialists without much difficulty.[31] Jujhar subsequently rebelled once again but was killed by the Gonds in the eighth year of Shahjahan's reign The second one, organised by Khan Jahan Lodi (son of Daulat Khan Lodi, one of Akbar's officers), an able general whom Jahangir had sent to fight in the Deccan, gave much more trouble than the Bundela rising. But it was put down after some time and the Afghan leader lost his life.

Conflicting opinions have been expressed by scholars about Shahjahan's character and policy. But it may be said at once that he was not essentially "cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous," as some European travellers like Roe and Terry (on whom Dr. V. A. Smith has mainly relied) thought him to have been.[32] There are certainly instances of cruelty committed by him, especially in the murders of his rival claimants which were perpetrated at his accession under his orders. He had been, no doubt, prompted to these bloody deeds by a desire for the security of his throne; but when we take into consideration the situation in which he had been placed for several years before his accession owing to the baneful influence and intrigues of Nurjahan, "we lose," as Mr. Dow says, "half our rage in the pressure of circumstances that drove him to such a ghastly step." He was not cruel by nature, and "for these early crimes he made ample amends by the strict justice and clemency of his government and his solicitude for the well-being of his subjects."[33] Thus he did much to alleviate the sufferings of the people during the terrible famine of 1630—32,—though judged by modern standards his measures of relief appear inadequate./

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[31] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*. Vol. I, p. 14.

Shahjahan had an early education under such well-known teachers as Mulla Qasim Beg Tebrezi, Hakim Dawai, Shaikh Abdul Khair and Shaikh Sufi and he was devoted to bodily exercises and excursions befitting a prince of that age. He was not devoid of military qualities, though these were not of a very high order. He could speak Persian with fluency, and could converse in Hindi with those who did not know that language; Ruqayya Begum, who had brought him up in his childhood, taught him to speak in Turki and to read Turki works. He took interest in calligraphy, poetry and music and was an ardent lover of art and beauty. He was an affectionate father and a devoted husband. In 1612, at the age of 20, he married Mumtaz Mahal who was nearly of the same age as himself and remained deeply attached to her all through her lifetime though he had other earlier and later consorts and some children by them. The couple enjoyed an ideal and happy married life, rare in courts of that age, for nineteen years; and in weal or woe, throughout his chequered career, Shahjahan found in Mumtaz an unfailing friend and a prudent adviser. High honours and privileges which were conferred upon her by her husband did not tarnish the softer qualities of her heart. Her kindness and generosity were extended to the poor and the distressed. She died after child-birth in 1631 at the early age of 39, and her husband tried to immortalise her name by building on her grave the magnificent Taj, which remains to-day a brilliant monument of conjugal love and fidelity.

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[32] *Oxford History*, p. 32.

[33] Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Muslim Rule*, p. 636; Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 266.

Though Shahjahan employed Hindus in high offices like his father and grandfather, yet he deviated from the policy of toleration towards the non-Muslims, the Shias, and the Christians, as the accounts in the contemporary English factory records relate.[34] In fact, the reversion from Akbar's policy had its beginning in the reign of Jahangir with the murder of the Sikh Guru, Arjun, which was a combination of policy and persecution; Shahjahan with his intense zeal for the Sunni faith carried it further and it reached its culmination in the reign of Aurangzeb. "Akbar had never allowed religion to get the better of his statesmanship and he had succeeded in consolidating the empire on the strong foundation of toleration, compromise and goodwill. But in the time of his successors religious bigotry in a steadily increasing degree outweighed political considerations and the policy of intolerance created forces which ultimately destroyed the political solidarity of the empire." This change to a medieval attitude must be traced to the steady growth of Persian and Central Asiatic elements and influence in the services and at court from the beginning of the 17th century, which counteracted the Rajput and Hindu influence, stopped the modernism of the 16th century, and undid the work of Akbar.

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[34] Foster, *The English Factories*, 1634—36. p. 241.

Shahjahan's illness in September, 1657, was the signal for the outbreak of a terrible war of succession among his sons, which rendered his last days extremely unhappy. In this struggle were concerned four of his sons, Dara Shukoh (43), Shujah (41), Aurangzeb (39), Murad (33) and two daughters, Jahanara, who supported the cause of Dara Shukoh, and Raushanara, who took up the side of Aurangzeb. All the sons were past youth by that time and had acquired some experience in civil and military affairs as governors of provinces and commanders of armies. The eldest Dara Shukoh enjoyed the confidence of his father and was the heir-designate, according to Shahjahan's personal wishes. He was a man of eclectic views in religious matters, and studied the Talmud and the New Testament, the works of the Muslim Sufis, and the doctrines of the Hindu Vedanta. He produced a Persian version of the Atharvaveda and the Upanishads with the help of a batch of Brahmin scholars[35] and his aim was to find out a *modus vivendi* among the apparently rival forms of different religions. It was natural that because of his liberal tendencies and his want of sympathy with the orthodox views, Aurangzeb could combine against him the hatred of his coreligionists.[36]

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[35] The following are some of the works of Dara Shukoh :—(1) *Sirr-ul-asrar*, a translation of the fifty *Upanishads*, (2) *Majmua-ul-Baharain*, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their Sufi synonyms, (3) *Dialogue with Baba Lal*, (4) *Saḳinat-ul-awliya* containing lives of Muslim saints, (6) *Risala-i-haqnuma*, published with an English translation : Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 271, footnote. Copies of some of these works are preserved in the Khula Baksh Library, Patna, and also in the house of a Kayastha gentleman in Patna City (Harmandil Lane).

[36] In the manifesto in which Aurangzeb denounced Dara for heresy he pointed out the following faults of Dara :—(1) Conversing with

He was not, however, an apostate from Islam. He never "discarded the essential dogmas of Islam; he only displayed the eclecticism of the Sufis, a recognised school of Islamic believers. If he showed contempt for the external rite of religion, he only shared the standpoint of many noble thinkers of all Churches, such as John Milton."[37] But owing to the excessive love of his father and his constant attendance at his court, Dara Shukoh could not develop the qualities of a leader and soldier or the tact and judgment of a statesman. Moreover, the assured prospects of succession to the empire and the flattery which he therefore received from all, engendered in him a feeling of pride and made him impatient of others' advice. Thus in the ensuing succession war he proved himself an unequal and incapable rival against Aurangzeb, who was a practised veteran in the art of warfare and a consummate diplomat. Shujah, the second son, was then the Governor of Bengal. He was an intelligent man and a good soldier. But his excessive addiction to the pleasures of court life had made him " weak, indolent, and negligent, incapable of sustained effort, vigilant caution and profound combination." Murad, the youngest son, was the Governor of Gujarat. He was also a slave of his passions and was therefore incapable of exercising cool judgment in political matters. There were of course certain good traits in his character. He was frank and liberal and brave; and on the field of battle, he could fight regardless of life and risks. But he lacked the qualitiés of leadership and his own reckless valour was not of much use against well-organised troops placed under the guidance

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Brahmans, *Yogis* and *Sannyasis*, considering them as spiritual guides, regarding the *Veda* as a divine book and studying it, (1) wearing rings and jewels on which was inscribed in Hindi letters the word '*Prabhu*' or Lord, (3) Discarding the Ramzan and other ceremonies of Islam.—Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 273.

[37] *Ibid.*

of far-sighted and able commanders. Aurangzeb, the third son, who had already distinguished himself by his operations in the Deccan and in the N. W. Frontier, was the ablest and the most intelligent of all. He combined in himself uncommon industry with great diplomatic and military skill. He was "a perfect master of the art of dissimulation" and never disclosed his intentions even to his most intimate friends when it was necessary to remain reserved. Being himself a zealous Muslim, he could easily rely on the support of the orthodox Sunnis in order to fight against Dara's liberalism. Each of these differently-constituted princes coveted the Mughal throne and became engaged in a deadly contest for its possession as soon as the old emperor fell ill. The quadrangular contest between Dara, Aurangzeb, Shujah and Murad, was really between Liberalism, Orthodoxy, Indulgence and Recklessness,—and it was decided in favour of a return to Medieval intolerance as the main principle of the Empire.

During Shahjahan's illness Dara remained with his father and transacted all public business in the emperor's name, showing "no indecent haste to seize the crown."[38] But he tried to strengthen his own position, after his father had declared him as his heir in the presence of some courtiers enjoying royal confidence and the chief officers of the state. Shahjahan's illness was severe and there was a suspicion in the minds of his three other sons as well as a popular rumour that the old emperor was really dead but that Dara had suppressed the news. This gave birth to confusion and disorder throughout the Empire[39] and the three other princes opened the fight for the throne.

Shujah proclaimed himself Emperor at Rajmahal, and starting for Delhi at the head of a large army and a fleet of boats reached Benares on 24th January, 1658. Murad also crowned himself at Ahmedabad (5th December, 1657) after murdering his Diwan Ali Naqi on a concocted charge of treason and plundering the city of Surat for money. He formed an alliance with Aurangzeb by agreeing with him to partition the Empire between themselves.[40] The partition agreement was solemnised in the name of God and the Prophet. Dara tried to break up the alliance between the two brothers and sent orders to them in the name of his father recalling Mahabat Khan, Rao Chhatra Sal and Mir Jumla from the Deccan to Agra. The first two returned to Agra on the 20th December, 1657, while Aurangzeb prevented the return of Mir Jumla by arresting him and attaching his property. From the beginning of the next year he carried on his military preparations vigorously; conciliated the Qutb Shah of Golkunda and the Adil Shah of Bijapur, realised some money from the Deccani Sultans, and brought Mir Jumla's fine artillery, served by European gunners, to his use. From the very outset Aurangzeb had been following a " cautious and temporising policy " but Murad was eager to begin the contest without delay. Both the brothers therefore marched towards the North in February, 1658, and effected a junction in April in the environs of Dipalpur near Ujjain. The combined forces marched towards Ujjain and encamped at the village of Dharmat on the western bank of the Gambhira (an affluent of the Chambal) prepared to fight the enemy. As we have seen, Shujah had already arrived near Benares. Dara had sent an army on 30th November, 1657, under his son Sulaiman Shukoh and Raja Jai Singh Kachhwa to fight against Shujah. This army encountered Shujah's force at Bahadurpur, five miles north-east of Benares, on 14th February, 1658, and defeated it. Shujah left the field and hastily retreated towards Bengal. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Qasim Khan were sent to oppose the advance of Aurangzeb and Murad. The hostile armies met at Dharmat on 15th April, 1658, in a deadly contest, which resulted in the defeat of the imperialists. The defeat was " due to the evils of divided command," the jealousy between the Hindu and the Muslim soldiers, the intrigues of some of the imperial officers with Aurangzeb and the inferior generalship and tactics of Jaswant Singh as compared with those of Aurangzeb, who had " aged in war."[41] Jaswant Singh fled to Jodhpur, where he found the castle-gates shut against him by his proud wife, who could not tolerate her husband's retreat from the field of battle and abandonment of his master's cause. The victory at Dharmat placed at Aurangzeb's disposal immense treasure and war materials, and greatly added to his military strength and prestige.[42] He marched towards Gwalior, and after crossing the Chambal reached the plain of Samugarh[43] near Agra.

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

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[40] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

Dara also prepared himself to meet Aurangzeb, somewhat against the wishes of his father whose exodus to Delhi and the North for escaping the summer heat of Agra was now stopped. Dara appeared at the plain of Samugarh towards the close of May, 1658 with a force of about 50.000 soldiers, " formidable in appearance only " but " composed of a miscellaneous host of diverse classes and localities, hastily got together and not properly coordinated nor taught to act in concert." A hotly contested battle was fought on 29th May, 1658. Both the parties fought bravely, Prince Murad receiving three wounds in the face. But Aurangzeb with superior generalship and tactics

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

[43] Sir J. N. Sarkar has identified Samugarh as Samogar, a village eight miles east of Agra fort. (*Ibid.*, n. 375, footnote). Bernier says that Samugarh is the same as Fatehabad. The author of the *Khulast-ut-Tawarikh* notes that Agra was twenty miles from the battlefield.

concentrated on harassing Dara's troops, many of whom lay dead on the field. When Dara's own elephant became the mark of the enemy's rockets he got down from it and mounted a horse "leaving his armour, weapons, and shoes behind" in the *howdah*.[44] At the sight of the empty *howdah*, his surviving soldiers concluded that their master had fallen and in utter confusion fled from the field.[45] In great despair, Dara proceeded towards Agra with a few fatigued followers, and reached there at about 9 p.m. in a highly distressed condition.[46] Before pursuing Dara up to Agra itself, Aurangzeb took possession of his camp and guns. Dara's defeat was due largely to the tactical errors committed by his commanders and to the less mobile condition of his artillery, and it was not entirely caused, as some accounts represent, by the treachery of Kalilullah Khan, who commanded the right wing of his army.

The battle of Samugarh indeed marks a turning-point in the history of the succession wars among the sons of Shahjahan. The defeat of Dara's large army and the death of many of his generals and followers irretrievably weakened his cause, while Aurangzeb's strength and position were immensely improved. Soon after this victory the latter proceeded to Agra, where all the efforts of Shahjahan for a peaceful settlement with him failed and he took possession of the fort on the 8th June. The imperial troops defended the fort for some time with great bravery, but when the water supply from the Jumna was stopped, they found themselves unable to hold out any longer. Shahjahan was compelled to quench his thirst in that burning heat of June with brackish water from a few wells within the fort. He wrote a pathetic letter to Aurangzeb, which contained the following:—

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[44] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 399.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 401.

> "Praised be the Hindus in all cases
> As they ever offer water to their dead
> And thou, my son, art a marvellous Musalman
> As thou causest me in life to lament for (lack of) water.

O prosperous son! be not proud of the good luck of this treacherous world. Scatter not the dust of negligence (of duty) and pride on the wise head; (know) that this perishable world is a narrow pass leading to the dark region, and the eternal prosperity comes only from remembering God and showing kindness to men."[47] Aurangzeb placed the "King of Kings" (*Shahan-Shah*) Shahjahan under strict confinement. But there is a silver lining in every cloud of affliction, and the old and sick Emperor found a ray of consolation in his prison in the faithful service of his daughter Jahanara, who remained by his side. Jahanara's efforts to bring about a reconciliation failed. A secret letter written by Shahjahan to Dara asking him to "stay firmly at Delhi"[48] was betrayed into the hands of Aurangzeb by a slave named Nahir-dil, and this made Aurangzeb more suspicious about his father's intentions.

Aurangzeb now became the *de facto* sovereign of the kingdom. He held a grand *darbar* on the 10th June and received the submission of the imperial administrative staff. He then started from Agra towards Delhi on 13th June, but stopped on the way near Mathura on hearing that Murad, jealous of his success, had been planning to oppose him with an army of 20,000 men.[49] Instead of meeting Murad in the open field, Aurangzeb decided to frustrate his ambition by cunning. He tricked Murad into a feast at Mathura, and so plied him with

[47] Quoted in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 420.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 424.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

cordial professions and wines that his arrest was silently and speedily effected before he woke up to the situation or his followers got any scent of it. Murad was sent with his son to the state-prison at Gwalior, where after some fruitless attempts at escape, he was, at the instigation of Aurangzeb, subjected to a trial for the murder of his Dewan Ali Naqi, was found guilty by the Qazi, sentenced to death and executed on 4th December, 1661. Thus Aurangzeb did not hesitate to clear his path to the throne at the cost of his brother's blood. After Murad's arrest Aurangzeb had proceeded to Delhi where on 21st July, 1658, he had crowned himself as Emperor and assumed the title of Alamgir (' Conqueror of the World ') with the usual additions of Padshah and Ghazi (Emperor and Holy Warrior).

Being safe from one side by the removal of Murad, Aurangzeb proceeded to root out his other rivals. From Delhi, Dara had fled towards the Punjab and had reached Lahore on the 3rd of July, 1658, where he was engaged in making preparations with a view to fighting Aurangzeb once again. But Aurangzeb followed him there and drove him through Sindh into Gujarat, where he was favourably received by Shah Nawaz Khan, the newly-appointed governor of Ahmedabad, who helped him with men and money. The advance of Shujah from the east and Aurangzeb's absence in the Punjab on pursuit held out an opportunity to Dara to make " a dash on Agra from the West and release Shahjahan."[50] He first thought of proceeding from Gujarat to the Deccan, and of setting up his authority there with the support of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Qutb Shahis of Golconda, who were Shias and ill-disposed towards Aurangzeb. But promises of help from Raja Jaswant Singh drew him to Ajmere. Apart from his pro-Hindu policy and attitude, Dara had hoped that this alliance with a great Rajput prince would immensely strengthen his party. But Aurangzeb was also shrewd enough to realise that " in the impending conflict with Dara, Jaswant was the decisive factor as his adhesion would mean an addition of 20,000 of the hardiest warriors of India to the ranks of his ally, as well as unrivalled local influence in Rajputana."[51] So he cleverly won over the selfish Jaswant Singh to his side, while Dara on reaching Ajmere found himself in a critical situation. His appeal to the treacherous Jaswant's sense of honour and the sacredness of princely promises was of no avail.[52] Dara had now no way left to himself but to meet Aurangzeb single-handed, who had arrived near Ajmere. He decided to hold the narrow pass of Deorai, four miles south of Ajmere, and in the battle that ensued he tried hard to maintain his position. But he was ultimately defeated by Aurangzeb's forces (March 1659).[53] In terror and bewilderment Dara again fled hurriedly with his family towards Gujarat, hotly pursued by Aurangzeb's troops under Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan.[54] But as Aurangzeb and Jai Singh had " sent off letters to the (local) princes and zamindars in every direction to bar Dara's path " the governor of Ahmedabad gave him no permission to enter the town. Thus deprived of his last hope of refuge, Dara became dumb-founded. Driven from place to place (Rajputana, Cutch and Sindh), but finding no shelter anywhere owing to the ceaseless opposition of Aurangzeb's adherents, Dara proceeded (in June

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[50] *Ibid.*, p. 501.

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[51] *Ibid.*, p. 503.

[52] In the course of the Succession Wars, Jaswant's conduct was most disgraceful. He had, as we have already seen, once run away from the field of battle where he was himself the commander-in-chief; he had again treacherously fallen upon an unsuspecting friend, and now he broke his promise with an ally, whom he led into danger.

[53] Not in April, as some authors write. *Vide* Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 510, footnote.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 517—24.

1659) towards Dadar (9 miles to the east of the Bolan Pass) in the hope of gaining the support of the Baluchi chief Malik Jiwan whom he had saved, a few years ago, from the penalty of death pronounced on him by Shahjahan. But on the way to Dadar, Dara was afflicted with a terrible misfortune, as his wife Nadira Banu, who had been her husband's faithful companion in weal or woe and all through his dreadful wanderings, now passed away, worn out by prolonged miserises, from an attack of diarrhoea. Dara's bewilderment and mortification knew no bounds. "Mountain after mountain of trouble," remarks Khafi Khan,[55] "thus pressed upon the heart of Dara, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium." Instead of helping Dara's cause, the ungrateful Baluchi chief betrayed him (towards the end of June 1659) into the hands of Bahadur Khan and other imperialists, who had been sent in pursuit of Dara. The unfotunate prince with his second son and two daughters were brought as captives to Delhi on 23rd August, 1659. With chained legs and with tattered clothes on they were paraded in an uncovered howdah on the back of a dirty she-elephant through the streets of Delhi. There could be no greater humiliation than this to Dara, who had formerly entered the city with majestic processions and dressed in costly robes of state. The citizens were moved with pity at this miserable condition of Dara.[56] But not a single hand could be raised in his rescue, as he was strongly guarded by cavalry and archers. After this humiliating procession, Dara was "lodged in the Khawaspura mansion (in old Delhi) under a strong guard, to await his sentence."[57] Dara's fate being much debated in the Emperor's Hall of Private Audience, a formal verdict of

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[55] Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 244.

[56] Bernier's, *Travels*, pp. 98—100.

[57] Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol. II, p. 544.

"guilty" was secured from the Ulemas on the charge of his apostasy from Islam. A riot broke out in the streets of the capital aiming at the life of Malik Jiwan, the faithless host of Dara, who had been appointed a commander of 1,000 horse and had received the title of Bakhtiyar Khan as the price of his treachery. But with the help of the city police Malik Jiwan's life was somehow saved and his disgrace only precipitated the end of Dara. Aurangzeb passed orders for his immediate execution and entrusted the task to Nazar Beg and some other slaves. In the same night (30th August, 1659) those brutal murderers snatched away Sipihr Shukoh from his father's embrace and after a violent struggle murdered Dara. The severed head was shown to Aurangzeb, who ordered the corpse to be paraded again through the streets of the city. It was then buried in the tomb of Humayun.

After the defeat of Dara at Samugarh, Shujah had made a fresh attempt to improve his position but his hopes were dashed to the ground by his defeat at Khajwah in the Fatehpur District on 5th January, 1659, by a superior force commanded in person by Aurangzeb. He was pursued from place to place by Mir Jumla and was driven out of Bengal to Dacca and thence to Arakan (May 1660) where he was probably slaughtered with his family by the Maghs[58] for his planning an outbreak against their king. Sulaiman Shukoh also met with a tragic end. After the battle of Dharmat, he hastily patched up a peace with Shujah and marched towards Delhi to help his father. At Korah he heard of his father's crushing defeat at Samugarh and received a letter from Shahjahan urging him to march hurriedly with his army to Delhi to help his father. But his generals hesitated to follow him to Delhi and Raja Jai Singh "only refused to follow the losing side any longer." At the advice of the Sayyids of Barha, he proceeded to

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[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 606—12; *Khafi Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VII, 254.

Allahabad and from thence to Hardwar (June 1658) *via* Lucknow and Moradabad, with the object of helping his father in the Punjab. But being vigorously pursued by Shaista Khan, who at the same time blocked all his routes of escape, he found his friends and followers deserting him day by day—till at last with his wife, a few other ladies, his foster-brother Muhammad Shah, and only seventeen followers, he found an asylum in the Garhwal hills. The Raja of Srinagar "was all kindness and attention to his princely guest in distress" and refused to surrender him into the hands of Aurangzeb though the latter tried persuasion, threats and diplomacy to secure the person of Sulaiman Shukoh. But his more worldly-minded son, Medini Singh, yielded to Aurangzeb's efforts; Sulaiman tried to run away to Ladakh but was captured and delivered on 27th December, 1660, into the hands of Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, who brought him to the fort of Salimgarh at Delhi on 2nd January, 1661. The unfortunate prince was brought in chains before Aurangzeb in the Hall of Private Audience of the Delhi Palace. He prayed to Aurangzeb that he would prefer immediate death to the customary slow poisoning by means of *pousta* drink. The latter "promised in a solemn manner and in a loud voice that this drink should not be administered, and that his mind might be perfectly easy." But Aurangzeb's words were far from his intentions. He sent the captive prince to Gwalior (on 15th January) where this dreadful beverage was administered to him every morning until in May 1662 "he was sent to the next world through the exertions of his keepers."[50] Dara's younger son Sipihr Shukoh and Murad Baksh's son, Izid Baksh, were not regarded as serious rivals for the throne, and so were allowed to survive and be married subsequently to the third and the fifth daughter of Aurangzeb respectively.

[50] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 565.

Shahjahan spent his last days as a prisoner, closely guarded in the fort of Agra, in misery and humiliation. Even the most common conveniences were denied to him. Aurangzeb sent letters to his imprisoned father wherein he defended himself by ascribing the fratricidal war not to his own ambition but to Shahjahan's partiality to Dara.[60] He held that he was compelled to join in it for defending himself and the interests of Islam, and that Shahjahan " as a wise man must submit to divine dispensation and accept Aurangzeb's triumph as the best thing that could have happened to him."[61] These reproaches greatly moved the fallen and old monarch; he described his boastful son as a hypocrite and a robber of another man's property and prophesied a similar nemesis for him. But as these strong words failed to produce any effect in the mind of Aurangzeb, the old Emperor " at last bowed to the inevitable and, like a child that cries itself to sleep, he ceased to complain."[62] He now firmly resigned himself to the will of God, and in the midst of these dire calamities, he did not lose patience or thankfulness to Him. " Religion gave him solace " and he spent his last days in prayer and meditation in the company of pious souls and of his daughter Jahanara, a disciple of the saint Mian Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Kanauj, till his death (22nd January, 1666, at the age of 74) put an end to his miseries.

After the occupation of Agra, Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 21st July, 1658, but as he was extremely busy at that time in fighting against his rivals, the formal coronation was delayed till 5th June, 1659, when after the victories of Khajwah and Deorai he found his position secure. The astrologers pronounced that date as auspicious and the coronation took place amidst great splendour and rejoicings. He received embassies from Persia (22nd May, 1661), Bokhara (17th November, 1661), Mecca, Abyssinia (1665) and Arabia, that were "sent to congratulate him on his accession."[63]

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[60] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p 133.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Like the preceding rulers of his dynasty Aurangzeb began his reign with various ameliorative measures. The civil wars among the brothers and the consequent weakness of the authority had practically broken down the administration in many parts of the empire. The marches of armies and the ravages committed by the robbers had destroyed agriculture; to add to this, owing to scanty rainfall for a few years after 1660, in some provinces "grain was selling at famine prices." Moreover, the people were groaning under oppressive taxes and heavy inland transit duties. Aurangzeb abolished the *rahdari*, that is, the toll of one-tenth of the value of the goods levied on the passing merchandise on every highway, frontier or ferry, which gave a large income to the state. He also abolished the *pandari*, which was a kind of ground or house cess, collected throughout the empire, from all traders (from the butcher and the potter to the jeweller and the banker), and brought lacs of revenues to the state.[64] Various other cesses were removed.[65] In order to bring down the prices of food articles, he remitted the tax on corn and issued strict orders to "enforce these remissions." But Khafi Khan admits that "with the exception of the *pandari*, mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities that felt the force of the abolition, the royal prohibition had no effect, and *faujdars* and *jagirdars* in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions."[66]

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[63] Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 41.

[64] *Khafi Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 247.

[65] Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 80.

Aurangzeb's character and policy have been sometimes the subject of more severe criticism than what they really deserve. He was not the only Mughal ruler who rebelled against his father or ascended the throne through the blood of his relatives. In this matter, he was merely following an example, which had been already set by Shahjahan and Jahangir and even by earlier princes of the Chaghtai or other dynasties. He was not alone responsible for the succession war; it would have broken out at any rate, for none of the brothers was disposed to acquiesce in the sovereignty of the other or to make a peaceful partition of the empire among themselves. As we have seen, Shahjahan's illness prompted Dara to take all kinds of precautionary measures to safeguard his succession to the throne, and each of the three others also proclaimed himself independent on receiving the very news of it. Only their efforts were frustrated, while those of Aurangzeb were crowned with success because of his superior diplomacy, tact and generalship. His treatment of his old father is, of course, indefensible; but he was not at least a royal parricide of which there are many instances in Indian or other histories.

As compared with his rivals or with the other rulers of his dynasty, Aurangzeb possessed certain great qualities. He was endowed with an unusual courage, of which he had given ample proofs in many arduous campaigns. "Indeed he regarded danger as only the legitimate risk of greatness."[67] He was a past-master of diplomacy and statecraft. Apart from this, he was a well-read and accurate scholar, and retained his love for study till his death. He spent his leisure hours in studying Islamic theology, Arabic jurisprudence and

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[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 61.

Persian literature, and searched for and collected rare old manuscripts. The *Faṭwa-i-Alamgiri*, which has been regarded as "the greatest digest of Muslim law made in India," was prepared under his patronage. He was an expert calligraphist and could write easily both in *Shikasta* and in *Nastaliq*. He possessed an indefatigable industry, an intense passion for work and a wonderful memory. Besides regularly discharging the ordinary routine duties, he personally read all petitions and issued orders on them with his own hand. The Italian physician Gemeli-Careri, who visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb, thus speaks of him: ". . . . I admired to see him, endorse the petitions (of those who had business) with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seem to be extremely pleased with the employment."[68] He was simple in his dress, food and recreations and comparatively pure in private morality. He seldom allowed himself to be carried away by lust and passions and "the number of his wives fell short even of the Quranic allowance of four,"[69] a commendable restraint in a medieval Emperor, though it fell short of the level of Khusrav and Dara. He was an ardent lover of Islamic laws and was very particular about their observance in all judicial proceedings. In short, he was 'puritanic' in temperament and tastes. In religion he had the zeal of a Puritan, and he was very particular in observing the injunctions of the Holy Quran. Nothing could lead him astray from his duties as laid down in the Quranic law and he wanted others also to follow the same. He was described as "a living saint" (*Alamgir Zinda Pir*) by his followers.[70] There is no reason to disbelieve the sincerity of his religious convictions.

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[68] Quoted in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V. p. 477.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 476.

[70] Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 62.

During the Balkh campaign, he got down from his horse to finish his prayers at the appointed time, though the fighting was going on all around him. But his extreme puritanism and austerity made his heart barren of affections and other tender qualities. He abhorred (not however in early life) art, music, dance and even poetry, and was suspicious of his sons, daughters and other relatives.

As a ruler Aurangzeb was a colossal failure. Diplomacy and industry of a ruler cannot alone support a government for a long time. The ruler and the ruled must be bound together by a tie of sincerity and love, especially when one has to rule over a country inhabited by people of diverse races and creeds. But Aurangzeb's reactionary policy offended the feelings of the different sections of the people except those of his Sunni followers and thus sapped the very foundation on which Akbar had tried to build his empire. Moreover to keep the entire body-politic unimpaired, its parts must be allowed to have full vigour and activity. Aurangzeb's excessive distrust of officers and constant interference in the business of the different departments kept the local officers in a state of tutelage and destroyed their initiative, efficiency and vitality. Again the prolonged wars of his reign drained the resources of the empire and ruined the productive activities and prosperity of many of its provinces. In fact the Mughal Empire had been already dead before Aurangzeb closed his eyes, and only the carcase remained to be finally torn up and dissolved under his feeble successors. Khafi Khan thus sums up his merits and demerits from the point of view of orthodox Sunnis : " Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur, nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long-suffering and sound judgment, he was unrivalled. But from reverence of the injunction of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had risen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object."[71]

Aurangzeb began his reign with high hopes and vigour but he could not foresee that sweeping and rapid changes were sure to appear in the train of new political developments, some of which he himself created. During his long reign, the territorial extent of the empire grew, and he arrayed all the available resources of the empire and of his mind against those adverse political forces; but in the end he found to his great disappointment that he had exhausted himself and his empire in vain without any permanent achievement or profit. The long and expensive wars in the Deccan demoralised the army, drained the resources of the state and weakened the administrative organisations, so that the people suffered under a recrudescence of the medieval feudal abuses like the oppressions of the nobles, the *faujdars,* and the governors. Before his eyes he saw his sons repeating the family example of rebellion against the reigning father and the fear of a nemesis overtaking him haunted his mind. His attempts to save the empire by advice to his sons and by partition-wills ended in smoke. The revived Hindu powers like the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats tried to 'feed fat their ancient grudge' and made another bid for Hindu supremacy. Conscious of his failure and of his approaching end, Aurangzeb wrote to his son Azam: "I came alone and am going alone. I have not done well to the country and the people, and of the future there is no hope." To another son he wrote: "I carry away the burden of my sins and am concerned on account of my misdeeds. Come what may, I am launching my boat." In despair and agony, he hummed the pathetic verses :

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[71] Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 386-87.

> "By the time you have reached your 80th or 90th year,
> You will have felt many hard blows from your Fate;
> And when you reach the stage of a hundred years,
> Death will put on the form of your life."[72]

Broken in body and heart, he passed away from this world on the 3rd March, 1707, yet like a true Muslim, "with the Muslim confession of faith on his lips."

SECTION II

MUGHAL IMPERIALISM AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

After restoring the rule of his dynasty, Akbar set himself to the task of extending the limits of his kingdom in different directions. He was a man of strong imperial instincts and continued his policy of conquest and expansion until January 1601, when the mighty fortress of Asirgarh in Khandesh fell into his hands. But Akbar's imperialism did not usher in great world forces or make special, and potential contributions to human civilisation, as the ancient Mauryan, Achaemenian or Persian and Hellenic or Macedonian imperialisms had done. "A monarch," Akbar held, "should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him."[73] The sequel of this fighting policy, carried out incessantly for forty years, was the political unification of the whole of Northern and Central India under his sceptre, after the weak rule of the successors of Sher Shah, which made for progress in different spheres.

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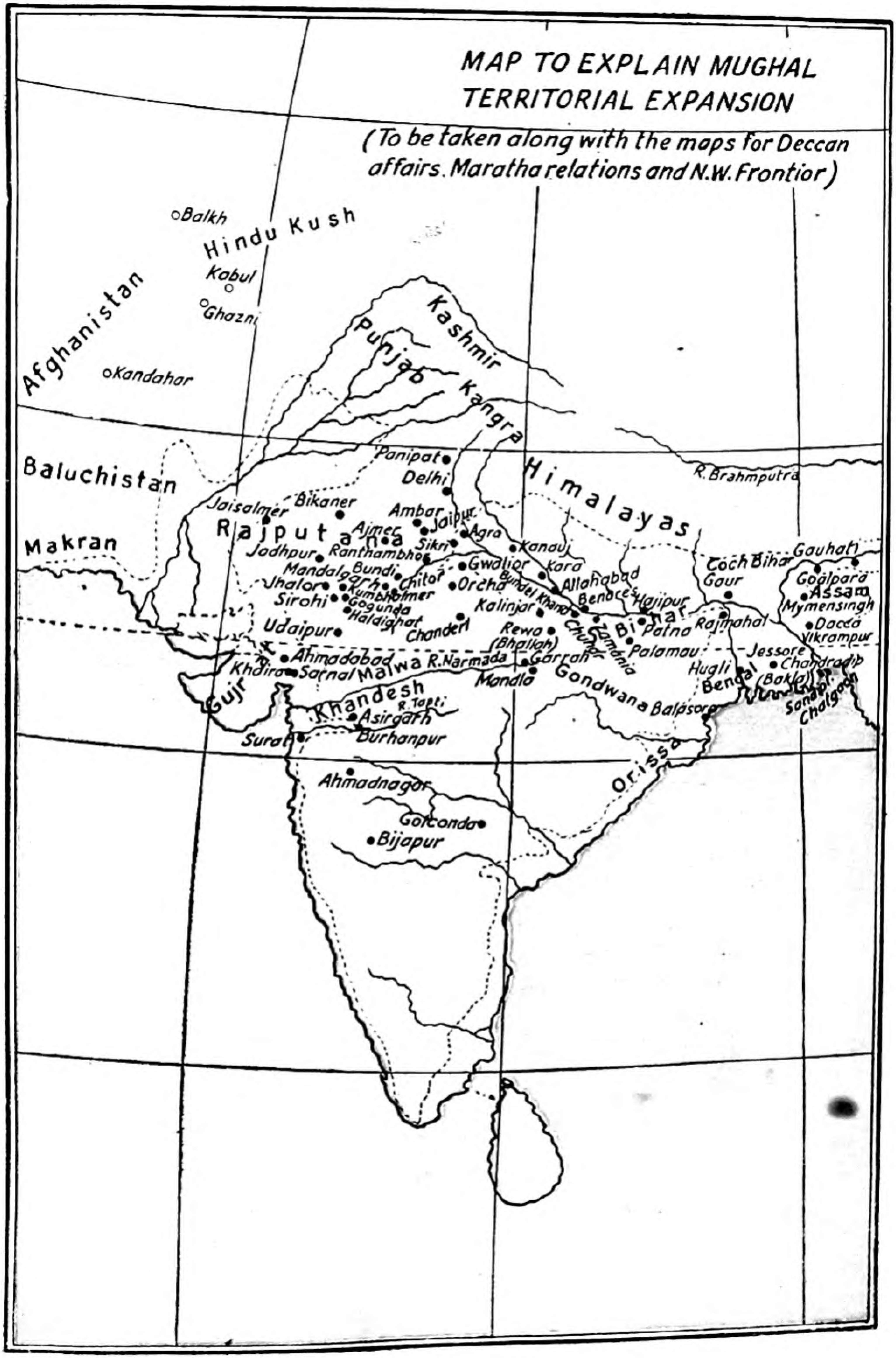
[72] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 18.

[73] Ain, Vol. III, p. 399.



MAP TO EXPLAIN MUGHAL TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

(To be taken along with the maps for Deccan affairs. Maratha relations and N.W. Frontior)

Balkh
Hindu Kush
Kabul
Ghazni
Afghanistan
Kandahar
Kashmir
Punjab
Kangra
Baluchistan
Makran
Panipat
Delhi
Himalayas
R. Brahmputra
Jaisalmer
Bikaner
Ambar
Jaipur
Rajputana
Ajmer
Sikri
Agra
Jodhpur
Ranthambhor
Gwalior
Kanauj
Kara
Mandalgarh
Bundi
Chitor
Orcha
Bundel Khand
Allahabad
Jhalor
Kumbhalmer
Sirohi
Gogunda
Haldighat
Kalinjar
Benares
Hajipur
Udaipur
Chanderi
Rewa
(Bhallah)
Chunar
Zamania
Bihar
Patna
Rajmahal
Ahmadabad
Garrah
Palamau
Gujrat
Khdira
Sarnal
Malwa
R. Narmada
Mandla
Gondwana
Khandesh
R. Tapti
Asirgarh
Surat
Burhanpur
Balasore
Orissa
Coch Bihar
Gauhati
Gaur
Goalpara
Assam
Mymensingh
Dacca
Vikrampur
Jessore
Chandradip
(Bakla)
Hugli
Bengal
Sandip
Chatgaon
Ahmadnagar
Golconda
Bijapur

Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad conquered Malwa in 1561, but the complete submission of its Afghan ruler, Baz Bahadur, was not secured till before a few years more. In 1564 Asaf Khan (I), Governor of Karah and the eastern provinces, invaded the kingdom of Garah Katanga (Gondwana), equivalent roughly to the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The country was then ably governed by Rani Durgavati, a Rajput lady of great valour, abilities, and personal charm, for her minor son. The queen-mother made a gallant defence but was defeated in a fight between Garah and Mandla (now in the Jubbulpore district). In the true spirit of a Rajput lady, she preferred death to disgrace and killed herself, so that " her end was as noble and devoted as her life had been useful."[74] The young ruler, Bir Narayan, performed the rite of *Jauhar* and courted death on the field of battle after a chivalrous attempt to defend the honour of his family. The kingdom was held for some time by Asaf Khan but was ultimately transferred to the Emperor. This conquest was followed by three rebellions, the first led by Abdulla the Uzbeg, the second by Khan Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan, and the third by Akbar's own brother Mirza Hakim, who was encouraged by the Uzbeg revolts to invade the Punjab. These rebellions were suppressed with some difficulty.

Akbar next turned his attention towards the formidable Rajput state of Mewar. Mewar, where the Rajput spirit had appeared 'in its very quintessence,' and which had so long offered powerful resistance to the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, and to the founder of the Timurid dominion in India, could not think of acknowledging the overlordship of Akbar. But Akbar's conception of an Indian Empire hardly fitted in with the independence of a neighbouring chief, who was " proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court;" and as the highways of commerce between the Jamna-Ganges Doab and the ports on the west-coast passed through Mewar or close by her boundaries, the economic interests of the Mughal Empire required some real control over it[75] if not its complete absorption. Besides, the Rana of Mewar had given offence to Akbar by harbouring Baz Bahadur, the fugitive king of Malwa, and by helping the rebellious Mirzas. Abul Fazal says that Shakta Singh, a son of the Rana of Mewar, who had fled from his father in anger, attended Akbar's camp at Dholpur, when the Emperor remarked to him in jest that " though most of the landholders and great men of India had paid their respects, yet the Rana had not done so, and that therefore he proposed to march against him and punish him." The Mewar prince returned home without the Emperor's leave and reported what he had heard to his father. So " the Shahanshah's wrath was stirred up, and jest became earnest." He proceeded against Mewar in September 1567, and on 20th October, 1567, arrived near the fort of Chitor, the ' Key of Rajputana,' and encamped in the surrounding plains.

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[74] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 71.

To the advantage of the Mughals, Mewar was then ruled by the ' craven prince,' Udaya Singh, an unworthy son of the great Sanga. "Well had it been for Mewar," writes Tod "had the poinard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals of Mewar never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of her princes." He made no attempt to defend the fort but fled to the hills, according to some authors with the advice of his chiefs,[76] leaving his kingdom to its fate. But this cowardly conduct of the Rana was not copied by all his followers, and the fort was so bravely defended by Jaimal and Putta that at the beginning of the siege the imperialists seemed to have no chances of success, and Akbar himself narrowly escaped death on more than one occasion. But the two gallant leaders were accidentally killed in action, and their loss created a confusion among the defenders. The women saved their honour by performing the rite of *jauhar* and the whole body of the regular Rajput garrison perished fighting to a man. Thus after gallantly standing a siege lasting from 20th October, 1567, to 23rd February, 1568, Chitor fell into the hands of Akbar, who entered the city and ordered a general massacre. The unique equipments of the Chitor fort were dismantled and removed to Agra, as also those of the temple of the Mother-Goddess of Chitor, and the entire capital became a heap of ruins. It should, however, be noted that Rajput chivalry had struck Akbar so much that on reaching Agra he had statues of Jaimal and Putta erected at the gateway of his fort.

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[75] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 324.

[76] Gaurisankar Ojha, *Rajputana ka Itihas* (Hindi), Part II, pp. 724-25.

This fate of Chitor excited awe in the minds of the other Rajput chiefs, who had so long defied the authority of Akbar. In February 1569, Akbar appeared with a large army before Ranthambhor, the stronghold of the Hara section of the Chauhan clan in Rajputana, and invested the fort. The Chief of Ranthambhor, Surjana Hara, finding himself unable to cope with the immensely superior military strength of the Mughals, readily tendered his submission to Akbar and surrendered to him the keys of the fortress. Ranthambhor was included within the imperial territory; Surjana Hara was made a *qiladar* at Garh Kantak and was afterwards appointed Governor of the Benares province including the fortress of Chunar. The strong fortress of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand, then held by Raja Ramchand of Bhatha or Riwa, was besieged under Akbar's commands by Manjnu Khan Qaqshal with a large army. The Raja sought safety by surrendering the fort to the besieger. Manjnu Khan Qaqshal remained in charge of the fort and the Raja was given a *jagir* near Allahabad. The possession of the great fortress of Kalinjar, which had defied Afghan strength under Sher Shah, greatly improved Akbar's military position in north-western India, and it marks an important step in the growth of Mughal imperialism.

But Mewar did not stoop yet. Udaya Singh was not brave enough to face a Mughal army, but he had at least enough sense of honour not to sell his freedom and to prefer a solitary, fugitive career to a foreign imperial favour. After his death, Mewar found a worthy leader in his son Pratap Singh, the quintessence of Rajputana, whose selfless devotion to his motherland and heroic struggle for its independence against the mighty Timurid Empire have won for him a unique place in Indian history.

In spite of weighty handicaps, he was inspired by the noble mission of recovering Chitor and vindicating the honour of his house. The task was indeed a formidable one, for he had to encounter the organised strength of Akbar, who was at that time "immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth."[77] Moreover the Mughal Emperor succeeded in arraying against Pratap "his kindred in faith as well as blood," —the princes of Marwar, Ambar, Bikaner, Bundi, and even his own brother Sagarji, who was rewarded by Akbar for his treachery with the old capital of his race. Under Akbar the Rajput chiefs indeed gained many political privileges, but they became forgetful of the glorious ideals of their predecessors and lost their national character, so that they did not hesitate to try to bring Pratap down to their own level. The latter was, however, made of a different stuff. "The magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratap, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent' and he amply redeemed his pledge."

But an imperalist like Akbar could hardly be expected to tolerate these sentiments. Dr. Smith has nicely summarised the *causus belli* in the following words: "His (Rana Pratap) patriotism was his offence. Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his astute policy and could not endure the independent attitude assumed by the Rana who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows."[78]

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[77] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 148.

An imperial force under Man Singh and Asaf Khan II was sent in April, 1576, to chastise the Rana. The Rana also came forward to meet his opponents and a furious battle was fought at the pass of Haldighat near the town of Gogunda. A detailed description of this battle is found in the History of Badaoni, who took part in the "holy war against the infidels" as a follower of Asaf Khan II.[79] In the first attack made by the Rana, the vanguard of the Mughal troops "became hopelessly mixed up together and sustained a complete defeat." A great confusion followed but the Rana was at last defeated, though his life was saved by the selfless services of one of his followers, the Chief of Jhalla, who drew upon himself the attack of his master's assailants by declaring himself to be the Rana. The Rana mounted on his beloved horse 'Chaitak' and retired into the hills, and all his strongholds were lost one by one. The bigoted Badaoni proceeded to convey the happy news to Akbar. But the unbending Sisodia could not think of submission even in the midst of dire adversity. Throneless and homeless, hunted from rock to rock, "feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills," the Rana continued the fight with undaunted spirit and gradually recovered all Mewar except Chitor, Ajmer, and Mandalgarh, before his death in 1597. He could not forget his motherland even in his last

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[79] Asaf Khan II, whose personal name was Khwajah Ghias-ud-din of Kazwin and who had received the title three years before the battle of Haldighat, should not be confounded with Asaf Khan I, the Conqueror of Gondwana.

moments, and expressed an anxiety for its welfare in the future,—for he had no faith in his son, Amar Singh. Before he breathed his last, he had satisfied his soul by exacting from his chiefs " a pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turks."[80] " Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory," says Tod, " is even now idolized by every Sisodia." " Had Mewar," he adds, " possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the ' Ten Thousand ' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that sincerity which ' keeps honour bright,' perseverance,—with fidelity such as no nation can boast of, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind." Pratap is undoubtedly a great figure in Indian history; the annals of the Rajputs record the names of abler generals and more farsighted statesmen than Pratap but not of a more sincere patriot than him.

Amar Singh tried during the first few years after his accession in 1597 to redeem the pledge he had made before his father and to improve the condition of his country by various peace activities. But these were disturbed when in 1599 Akbar sent an army under Raja Man Singh to invade Mewar. Amar Singh offered a gallant resistance but was ultimately defeated and the imperialists devastated the whole country. The operations were, however, abruptly stopped as Man Singh was urgently called away by Akbar in order to suppress the rebellion of Usman Khan in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion against Mewar but could not carry it into effect on account of illness. It was left for Jahangir to take up the work of his father.

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[80] The so-called Mughals, the Chaghtais, were Turks.

After the annexation of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar, the Mughal arms were directed against the rich and fertile province of Gujarat. With flourishing harbours on its coasts, Gujarat possessed an important commercial position, and the possession of this province had been, therefore, coveted by the Muslim rulers of Hindustan since the days of Mahmud of Ghazni, and of Western Asia in the days of the early Caliphates (when Gujarat ports were raided, or the Valabhi capital was sacked).[81] Humayun had taken possesssion of it only to lose it after a short period because of his own indolence and lethargy. The province was at that time in an unsettled state "divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal king, Muzaffar Shah III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy exercised little authority."[82] This order of things could not but excite the imperial ambitions of Akbar, and the special economic and strategic advantages of the country made its occupation very attractive, and even necessary for safeguarding the commercial and political interests of the empire on the western coast and the Peninsula. His intervention had, apart from these considerations, some justification, as it had been actually invited by a local chief named Itimad Khan. In 1572 Akbar led an expedition in person against Gujarat, in the course of which he found the fugitive king hiding himself in a corn-field, took pity on him and pensioned him off with a paltry allowance. The other chiefs of Gujarat tendered submission, and Akbar appointed Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka Governor of Ahmadabad, when he heard that Ibrahim Mirza had killed a noble who wished to pay respects to Akbar.

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[81] The same persistent push towards Malwa and Gujarat is to be noted for the imperial histories of the Hindu period as well.

[82] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 10.

He started forthwith to punish the rebellious Mirza and by dint of his personal courage and prowess and with the help of his Rajput chiefs, defeated him at Sarnal (about five miles to the east of Khaira). He then besieged Surat, which surrendered after a month and a half (26th February, 1573). On this occasion Akbar came in touch with the Portuguese, who, realising the impossibility of resisting the imperial arms, entered into friendly terms with him.

But as soon as Akbar had reached his headquarters at Sikri, fresh troubles were created in Gujarat by some of his own rebellious cousins known as the Mirzas and by a noble named Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk. Highly incensed at this, he marched with an efficient army to Ahmadabad at 'hurricane speed,' and gained a decisive victory over the insurgents on the 2nd September, 1573. Akbar's authority was thus fully established in Gujarat, which became an integral part of the empire. Raja Todar Mal was entrusted with the task of setting in order the finances of the province and its revenue, which had not been properly collected for a long time. Within six months he effected a land-survey and settled the land revenue in such a way that the province yielded henceforth more than five millions of rupees to the imperial treasury. His work was continued by another expert officer named Shihab-ud-din, Ahmad Khan, who remained in charge of the province from 1577 to 1583 or 1584.

"The conquest of Gujarat," remarks Dr. Smith aptly, "marks an important epoch in Akbar's history."[83] Besides adding to the extent and resources of his Empire, it secured for his government "free access to the sea with all the rich commerce passing through Surat and the other western ports" and provided the "practising ground" for Todar Mal's revenue experiments. Further, it brought the Emperor into direct contact with the Portuguese, which was destined to exercise new influences on his mind and also on the subsequent history of the country. It was now open to the Mughals to try to build up a sea-power by emulating the Portuguese in the West coast, and thus to recapture the control of the overseas trade that the Indians had lost to the Arabs and then to the Europeans during the previous Muhammadan period. But though Akbar appears to have had certain ideas on this matter, he could not do much beyond providing an outlet for the trade of the empire and controlling and defending the ports with a rudimentary navy. Seaward the Mughals never went after him, with result that trading European nations got the line clear before them.

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[83] *Oxford History*, p. 352.

The conquest of Gujarat was followed by that of Bengal. This province was held by the Afghan chiefs in the time of Sher Shah. The Sur Kings established their independence during the stormy reign of Muhammad Adil and ruled the province till 1564, when taking advantage of the disorder following the murder of the reigning young king, Sulaiman Kararani (Governor of South Bihar) established his authority over Bengal also. Sulaiman was wise enough to recognise formally the suzerainty of the new Mughal Emperor and maintained friendly relations with him. He removed his capital from Gaur to Tanda and conquered the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. But after his death in 1572, his son Daud, who has been described by the author of the *Tabaqat* as a "dissolute scamp who knew nothing of the art of government,"[84] abandoned the "prudent measures of his father,"[85] declared himself independent, and unwisely drew upon himself the resentment of the Emperor by attacking the fort of Zamania on the eastern frontier of the empire (in the

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[84] Elliot, Voy. V, p. 373.

[85] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 75.

Ghazipur District of U.P.). It was too much for a ruler like Akbar to put up with the presumption of this young prince, and he sent Munim Khan, an old and experienced general, at the head of a large army to chastise him. But instead of pushing on vigorously against Daud, Munim Khan made peace with him on very lenient terms. This was highly displeasing to Akbar, who pressed the old general to renew the campaign against Daud with vigour. But Munim Khan failed to execute his master's commission, whereupon Akbar himself quickly marched to the field of action and drove Daud from Patna and Hajipur during the rainy season of 1574. He appointed Munim Khan Governor of Bengal, and leaving the Bengal campaign in charge of his generals, returned to Fatehpur Sikri. Daud retreated towards Orissa and was severely defeated in a battle (3rd March, 1575) in the vicinity of the village of Tukaroi near the eastern bank of the Suvarnarekha river. But this battle did not prove decisive owing again to the leniency of Munim Khan, who granted liberal terms to Daud, which enabled the latter to make another attempt for the recovery of Bengal after the former's death in October 1575. Akbar sent another expedition against Daud, which resulted in his final defeat and death in a battle near Rajmahal in July 1576. Bengal henceforth became a part of the empire. But it again became the scene of rebellions owing to the heedless policy of the imperial governor Muzaffar Khan Turbati, who was a "man harsh in his measures and offensive in his speech." Some of the powerful Bengal Zamindars, known as the '*Bar Bhuiyas*,' also long opposed the authority of the Emperor.[86] The most important of them were Isa Khan of East Central Dacca and Mymensingh, Kedar Rai of Vikrampur, Kandarpa-narayana of

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[86] J.A.S.B., 1874. pp. 194—214; 1875. pp. 181—83; 1904. pp. 57—63; 1913, pp. 437—49; and Mr. Bhattashali's articles on 'The Bengal Chiefs' Struggle for Independence.'

Chandradvipa (Bakla) and Pratapaditya of Jessore. Orissa was finally conquered by Raja Man Singh in 1592.

The Bengal rebellions lost their force for the time being. But during 1580-81, Akbar was confronted with a more serious danger originating in the attempt of his half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who had been practically the independent ruler of Kabul, to contest with him the sovereignty of Hindustan. "The year 1581," writes Dr. Smith, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account."[87] In the course of that year Mirza Muhammad Hakim entered into conspiracies with "the rebels of the eastern provinces" and with some disaffected court-officials of Akbar to give effect to his cherished design. The leader of the conspiracy in the court was Khwaja Mansur, the Diwan of the Empire, and all the conspirators were actuated by motives of personal gain as well as by a desire to place on the throne the orthodox Muslim Mirza Muhammad Hakim in place of Akbar whom they regarded as a heretic. But they were supporting a bad cause. Hakim's attempts were doomed to failure as he was "wholly incapable of meeting his brother either in state-craft or in the field."[88]

The hostile movements of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, particularly his advance into the Punjab, soon forced Akbar to shake off his hesitation to fight against a brother, and he started for Kabul on the 8th February, 1581, with about 50,000 cavalry, 500 elephants and a large number of infantry. To prevent the conspiracy in the imperial court from becoming formidable, the Emperor persuaded Khwaja Mansur to accompany him. The latter was executed on the 27th February, 1581, on the charge of having carried on treasonable correspondence with the party of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. According to Father Monserrate (Jesuit tutor to Murad), who accompanied Akbar in that campaign, Khwaja Mansur thus "paid the just penalty for his perfidy and treason." It should be, however, noted that the letters, which formed the basis of this charge against him, were regarded by the contemporary writers, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, as forgeries. It might be that they were forged by the enemies of Khwaja Mansur, and that Akbar, in his natural anxiety and haste to overcome his brother's plot, did not scrutinise them. It is said that he repented afterwards when the secret was out.

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[87] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 190.

[88] *Ibid*., p. 192.

After this execution Akbar crossed the Indus with the whole army and entered Afghanistan. Mirza Hakim was defeated and left Kabul. But he was soon restored by Akbar to his kingdom on promising to remain faithful to the Emperor. Akbar returned to his capital in December, 1581, with a sense of relief. All his dangers being over, his authority "was now established so firmly that he was able to take extraordinary liberties with his people and to defy criticism with absolute impunity."[89] Kabul was formally incorporated into the empire of Delhi on Hakim's death shortly afterwards in 1584.

After suppressing the Uzbegs and the Yusufazais, two frontier tribes, Akbar sent Raja Bhagwan Das and Kasim Khan at the head of 5,000 men to conquer Kashmir. Yusuf, the King of Kashmir, and his son Yaqub, were defeated and compelled to give way. Kashmir was then definitely annexed to the empire as a *Sarkar* in the Subah of Kabul in 1586. Yusuf and his son were sent as prisoners to Bihar, where they were placed in the charge of Raja Man Singh. Sindh was annexed in 1590-91. Beluchistan with the cost of Makran was conquered in 1595, and in the same year Qandahar was surrendered to the Emperor by its Persian Governor Muzaffar Husain Mirza, who was involved in struggles with his relatives and in danger from the Uzebgs. Thus by the year 1596 Akbar found himself in undisputed possession of every part of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Narmada besides the adjacent territories of Makran, Qandahar, Ghazni and Kabul.

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[89] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 202.

Akbar now proceeded to extend his control over the Sultanates of the Deccan[90] by demanding from them a formal acknowledgement of his suzerainty. All the states, except Khandesh, evaded compliance with his demands. He therefore decided to bring them down by force. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar fell after the death of Chand Sultana in 1600. When the Sultan of Khandesh attempted to throw off the imperial yoke, Akbar marched forth in person in 1599 and occupied Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh. Finally, the capture of Asirgarh, which "was one of the strongest fortresses in the world at that date," in 1601, marked the climax of imperial expansion. After this Akbar passed the next few years in comparative dullness and in the midst of various personal troubles, till death carried him away in 1605.

Conquests and annexations cannot always completely destroy long-standing tendencies towards disruption by local revolts and disorder; discontents smoulder in some form or other and these break out into open rebellions as imperialism even slightly loses its strength. The annexation of Bengal by Akbar could not crush the Afghan menace altogether or stop the ravages of the Maghs in Eastern Bengal. In 1599 the absence of Akbar and Raja Man Singh from Bengal on the Deccan expedition gave an opportunity to the Afghans in Bengal to raise the standard of rebellion under the leadership of Usman Khan. Raja Man Singh hurried back to the East and defeated the rebels, was succeeded in 1606 by Qutbuddin, on whose death in the following year Jahangir Quli Khan, an old man, stepped into his place but succumbed soon after assuming the onerous office. "The frequent change in the personnel of government was hardly favourable to the pursuit of energetic measures for the restoration of order,"[91] and, taking advantage of this, the Afghans and Bengal Zamindars again rallied under the banner of Usman Khan, in the time of the next governor Islam Khan, to oppose the imperial forces. Islam Khan was however a capable man and he first of all transferred the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca (which henceforth came to be known as Jahangirnagar) in order to deal effectively both with the rebellious Afghans as well as the Maghs. He made Shujjat Khan, a descendant of Shaikh Salim Chisti, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces collected for the suppression of Usman Khan. The imperialists and the Afghans met on 12th March, 1612, and after a hotly-contested battle raging the whole day, the Afghans were defeated and their leader Usman died at midnight from the effects of a fatal wound on the head. The death of the leader threw the Afghans into confusion, and, considering themselves unable to offer any resistance to the newly reinforced imperial forces, they at last surrendered. Jahangir received the news of this victory on 1st April, 1612, and bestowed suitable rewards on the officers who had contributed to this. The political power of the Afghans, who had been so long hostile to the Mughal rule, was completely broken, and Jahangir by his conciliatory policy turned them from foes into friends of the empire.[92] But the Magh menace in Eastern Bengal could not be suppressed, and it continued to threaten the life and property of the people till late in the eighteenth century.

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[90] For details vide the Section on 'The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire.'

[91] Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahasgir*, p. 209.

[92] *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, Dorn's translation, Part I, p. 184.

The reign of Jahangir also witnessed the "reduction and conciliation of Mewar, the sole remnant of Rajput independence." Soon after his accession, Jahangir revived the Rajput policy of his father and sent a large force against Mewar under the nominal command of Prince Parwez, who was to be assisted by well-tried and veteran military officers like Asaf Khan, Jaffar Beg, and others. The Rajputs also decided to fulfil "the dying behest of their late glorious head (Rana Pratap)" by accepting the challenge of the Turks. The first campaign was an indecisive one and was followed by the conclusion of a truce near Mandalgarh. In 1608 Jahangir sent another large force under Mahabat Khan who by pressing the campaign with vigour and energy inflicted a defeat on the Rajputs. In the following year Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdulla Khan, who harassed the Rajputs in various ways, but he was soon transferred to Gujarat and frequent change of commanders (as in the case of Bengal) led to no tangible result. In 1614 the Emperor entrusted the command of the Mewar expedition to Prince Khurram. Being ably supported by Abdulla Khan and other Deccan officers, the prince conducted the campaign vigorously and reduced Rana Amar Singh to great straits. Amar lacked the spirit of Pratap, who had stood patiently in the face of the most dreadful adversity in pursuing his aims. A few reverses damped Amar Singh's courage and energy. Moreover his country had been suffering greatly from the effects of more than half a century's warfare; peace and security had disappeared; foodstuffs had become scarce; famine and pestilence added to the miseries of war. There was a demand for peace from different quarters, even from his own son Prince Karan. All these led Rana Amar Singh to send his maternal uncle Shubah Karan and his faithful officer Hari Das Jala to Prince Khurram to settle terms of peace. He agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor and to send his son to the imperial court, but he proposed to be excused from personally attending it and also from giving any daughter of his family to the Mughal harem. Jahangir gladly accepted the terms and a treaty was accordingly concluded. Chitor was restored to the Rana on condition that he would never fortify or repair it. He was also required to supply a contingent of 1,000 horse and Prince Karan received the dignity of a 'Commander of 5,000.'

Jahangir tried to follow his father's policy of aggression in the Deccan,[93] but it did not meet with much of success, largely owing to the efforts of Malik Amber. The last important military exploit of Jahangir's reign was the conquest (16th November, 1620) of the famous fortress of Kangra in the hills of the north-eastern Punjab which had never before come under Muslim sway. But in June 1622, Qandahar was lost to the empire being forcibly retaken by Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, when he found that persuasion and diplomacy had failed to induce a voluntary surrender.

Shahjahan's reign forms on the whole a brighter period, as compared with that of his predecessor, in the history of the territorial expansion of the Mughal Empire. At the beginning of his reign he was faced with the rebellions of the Bundelas and the Afghans but these were suppressed without great difficulty. In its first year the Bundelas revolted under the leadership of Jujhar Singh, the son of Bir Singh Deva, the murderer of Abul Fazl. Shahjahan quickly sent three imperial armies from three directions to put down the rebels. In the face of these large converging imperial forces totalling 25,000 horse, 6,000 musketeers and 1,500 sappers, Jujhar Singh could hardly win any success. He submitted after some desperate attempts and the Emperor permitted him to retain the possession of as much *jagir* as was necessary for his maintaining the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 4,000 *sawar*. But the Bundela Chief revolted once again in 1635; he was again defeated and being hotly pursued by the imperial troops was at last killed by the Gonds.

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[93] Details have been given in the Section on 'The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire.'

In the second year of the reign the traditional hostility of the Afghans broke out once again into open rebellion. An Afghan noble named Khan Jahan Lodi, who had served in the Deccan in the time of Jahangir, formed an alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar for defying the imperial authority. The Emperor sent against him his Hindu and Muslim generals who drove him from place to place and defeated him in several engagements till he lost his life with many of his followers at Tal Sehonda, north of Kalinjar.

The wrath of the Emperor next fell upon the Portuguese at Hugli. The Portuguese had settled in Bengal about 1579 and gradually extended their power and strengthened their position by erecting round about Hugli a number of substantial buildings which were fortified by them with cannon, muskets and other fighting materials. They had ceased to be merely peaceful traders and were committing various acts which excited the Emperor's resentment. Their officers levied heavy customs duties, especially on tobacco which had by that time become an important article of trade, to the great prejudice of the revenues of the state. Besides this, they engaged in the abominable and cruel practice of slave trade, for which they seized many orphan children, whom they converted into Christianity. The fanatical Jesuit priests forcibly imposed their beliefs on the Indians in other parts as well and very often interfered with the native government. They were audacious enough to capture two slave girls belonging to Mumtaz Mahal. The Portuguese danger had attracted the attention of Shahjahan even before his accession, and soon after he came to the throne, he appointed Qasim Khan Governor of Bengal (1631) with orders to drive out the Portuguese. The imperialists first attacked the Portuguese and the siege of their Hugli fort, beginning on 24th June, 1632, lasted for three months and a half. The Portuguese were at length defeated; many of them rushed into the river to return no more and the rest were made captives. They incurred considerable losses. According to the *Padshahnamah*: "From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water or burnt by fire;" on the Mughal side about one thousand lives were lost. About 4,000 Portuguese were taken as prisoners to Agra where they were offered the choice between embracing of Islam or servitude. Those who prized life above faith accepted Islam while many underwent cruel hardship and "so it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell." Those who survived this persecution were allowed to reoccupy their settlement at Hugli, which did not however regain its former prosperity. There is no doubt that the Portuguese deserved punishment for their nefarious activities. But Shahjahan was prompted by religious considerations to inflict rather harsh punishments on them. For the interests of the empire, strict but at the same time more tolerant and wise measures would have sufficed. At any rate, the chastisement of the Portuguese satisfied both Shahjahan's religious zeal and his imperial vanity.

The little success that Shahjahan had achieved in the Deccan in the time of his father was short-lived, and soon after his accession he thought of definitely bringing the Deccan Sultanates under his control.[94] The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was finally conquered in 1633 and the Nizamshahi dynasty came to an end,—though Shahji (the father of Shivaji the Great) made an unsuccessful attempt to revive it. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda were also compelled to acknowledge suzerainty of the Emperor. But his ambitious projects in the North-West Frontier and in Central Asia were attended with disastrous results, both immediate and ultimate, and did not add in the least to the territorial extent and prestige of the Mughal Empire.

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[94] *Vide* the Section on "The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire."

In the reign of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire reached the zenith of territorial expansion. The conquests made in the previous reigns remained intact (except those beyond the frontier, like Qandahar, Balkh, Badakshan, etc.) and before the Marathas could carve out a kingdom in the south (1660—74), his " ambitious and enterprising officers tried to extend their master's dominion."[95] Dauḍ Khan, the Governor of Bihar, conquered Palamau in 1661. Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, directed his army towards the eastern frontier of the empire, which had been extended by the conquest of Koch Hajo, embracing the present districts of Kamrupa and Goalpara, up to the Bar Nadi river in 1612.[96] This brought the Mughal Empire into conflict with the Ahoms, who had migrated from their original home in Upper Burma in the thirteenth century, and had gradually been extending their conquests towards the west during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, "till by the end of the sixteenth century their dominion stretched up to the Bar Nadi river in the north-west and the Kalang river in the south-west."[97] Here they came under Hindu influence and were Hinduised by the end of the same century. After the annexation of Koch Hajo, the Mughals entered into war with the Ahoms, but a peace was concluded in 1638. This peace lasted for twenty-one years; but taking advantage of the war of succession and the fall of Shujah, the Ahoms occupied Gauhati in 1658 and seized 140 horses, 40 pieces of canon and 200 matchlocks, besides much other property there.[98] So in 1661 Mir Jumla fitted out the expedition against Assam in order to " punish the lawless Zamindars of the province especially those of Assam and Magh (Arracan) who had caused injury and molestation to the Muslims."[99] On 1st November, he started from Dacca with a vast fleet of armed boats and with an army of 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot, and proceeding by " an obscure and neglected highway " he conquered both Kuch Bihar and Assam. Then fighting against " all opposition of Nature and man " he marched forward and reached Garhgaon, the capital of Assam, on the 17th March, 1662. At first he met with no resistance from the Ahoms, who were frightened at the sight of the Mughal army, but the latter soon regained confidence and began an offensive. Heavy downpours of rain from May to October, and the consequent hardship of campaign and the lack of provisions and transport, caused great distress to Mir Jumla's army. This emboldened the Ahoms to cut off Mir Jumla's communications with the Mughal fleet and to push the contest vigorously against the Mughals, so that the Ahom King soon recovered all the country east of Lakhau. To add to the sufferings of the Mughals, many of them fell victims to a terrible epidemic, which broke out in August. But undaunted by these reverses, the Mughal viceroy continued his operations and harassed the Ahoms in various ways after the rains had ceased. Finding that further resistance would be of no avail, the Ahoms sued for peace and a treaty was accordingly concluded between them and the Mughals. The Ahom King Jayadhwaja promised to pay a heavy war indemnity and an annual tribute and the Mughals were to get more than half of the province of Darrang.[100] Thus "judged as a military exploit, Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam was a success." But the invaders suffered greatly from the evil effects of the unhealthy climate of the place and from other hardships, and broken in health, Mir Jumla died on his way to Dacca on 31st March, 1663. The successes of the Mughals on this frontier were short-lived. After a few years the Ahoms renewed the war and recovered Kamarupa. "A long course of desultory fighting followed, the general result of which was the success of the Ahoms."[101]

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[95] Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 42.

[96] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 149.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

[99] Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 156.

After Mir Jumla's death, Aurangzeb's maternal uncle Shaista Khan (son of Asaf Khan) was appointed Governor of Bengal. He drove away the Portuguese pirates, who "used constantly to come by the water-routes and plunder Bengal" from the delta of the Brahmaputra, conquered Chatgaon (Chittagong) after defeating the King of Arracan in 1666, and annexed the islands of Sandip at the head of the Bay of Bengal. The ruler of Greater Tibet was compelled (1665) to acknowledge the overlordship of the Emperor.[102]

SECTION III

MUGHAL NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AND CENTRAL ASIATIC POLICY

The North-west Frontier has presented a complex problem to every Indian government, and some part or other of it has been a storm-centre in every period. Bounded on the north and east by hills, on the south by a dreary desert and on the west by a hot and barren plain extending far into Persia, the province of Qandahar itself "is an open and well-watered district penned within hills and deserts."[103] It occupies a position of great stategic importance. The heights of the Hindu Kush, which separate Central Asia from Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India, become much less forbidding in the north of Herat, and an invading army from Persia or Central Asia may easily attack India through this region. "The master of Kabul must hold Qandahar and Herat or his dominion is unsafe. In an age when Kabul was a part of the Delhi Empire, Qandahar was our indispensable first line of defence."[104]

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[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[102] Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 42.

Qandahar was also an important centre of trade from time immemorial. The Portuguese domination over the Indian Ocean and their disputes with Persia made the overland Indo-Persian trade-route more frequented, and thus increased the commercial importance of this place in the seventeenth century. The merchants from Persia and India, Turkey and Central Asia assembled here for exchanging their commodities and all merchandise from distant parts of India and even the Spice Islands were carried by the Multan-Chhotiali-Pishin route to Qandahar. During the early years of the seventeenth century about 14,000 laden camels passed annually from India *via* Qandahar into Persia.

In the sixteenth century two new empires (of the Safavis in Persia and of the Mughals in India) sprang up side by side, and the rulers of both coveted the possession of Qandahar for obvious reasons. In 1522 Babar conquered Qandahar from the Arghun family, and thus made safe his possession of Kabul and his subsequent conquests in India; and after his death it passed as an appanage to his second son Kamran. Humayun secured the help of the King of Persia by promising to hand over Qandahar to him, but did not keep his promise. It

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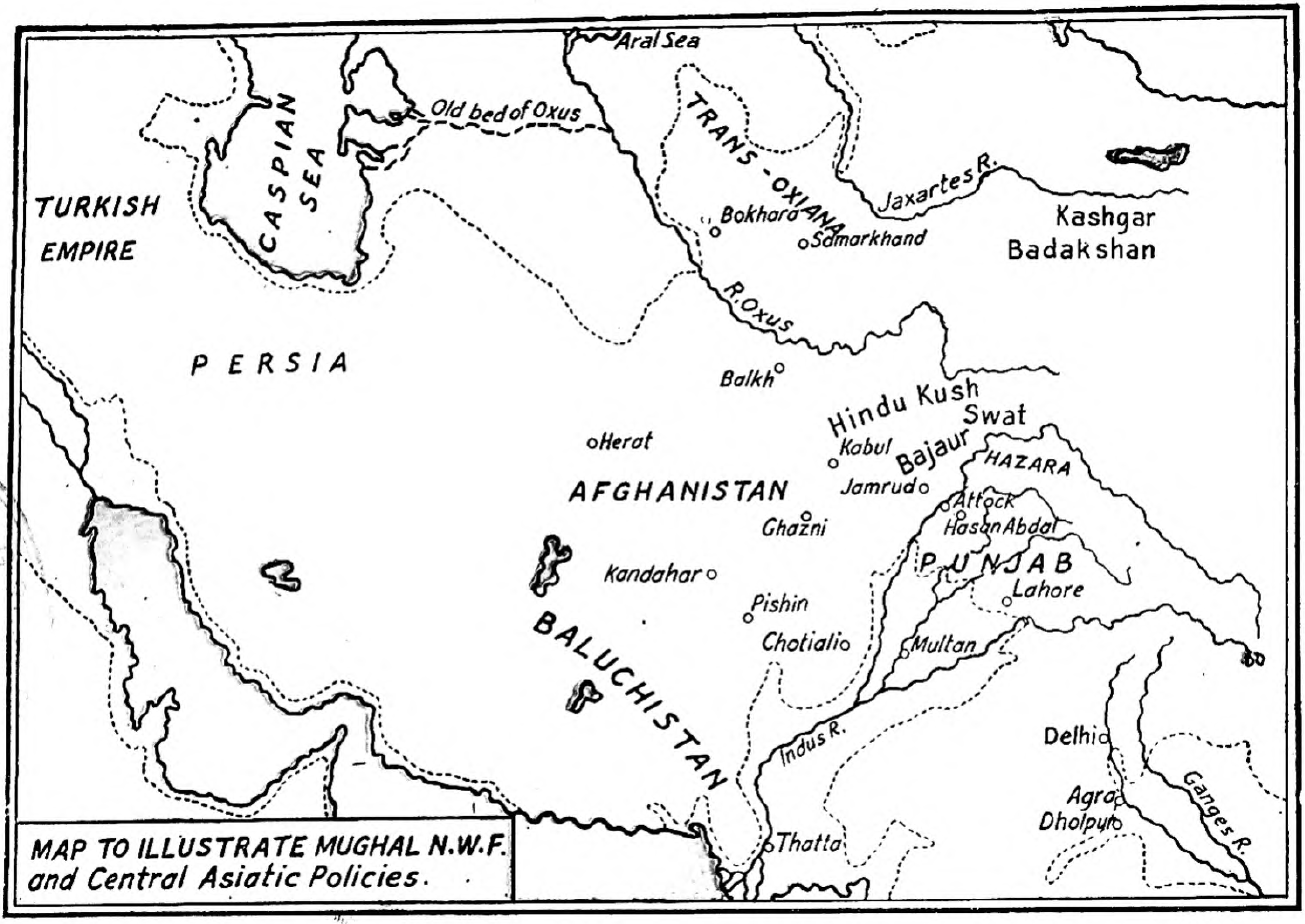
[103] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 112.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 113.


Aral Sea
Old bed of Oxus
CASPIAN SEA
TURKISH EMPIRE
TRANS-OXIANA
Bokhara
Samarkhand
Jaxartes R.
Kashgar
Badakshan
R. Oxus
PERSIA
Balkh
Hindu Kush
Swat
Kabul
Bajaur
Herat
HAZARA
Jamrud
AFGHANISTAN
Attock
Hasan Abdal
Ghazni
PUNJAB
Kandahar
Lahore
Pishin
BALUCHISTAN
Chotiali
Multan
Indus R.
Delhi
Agra
Dholpur
Ganges R.
Thatta

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE MUGHAL N.W.F. and Central Asiatic Policies.

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was therefore conquered in 1558 by the Persian King, who gave it to the charge of his nephew Sultan Husain Mirza.

It was Akbar, a true imperialist, who again realised the necessity of guarding the North-West Frontier for the safety of the empire in Hindustan. The frontier hill tribes, such as the Uzbegs and the Yusufzais, were "very dangerous in their native hills being democratic to a degree and fanatically attached by their liberty."[105] They were not in the least friendly to the Mughal Empire and their suppression was absolutely necessary for the safety of Kabul, the "invaluable western outpost." As we have already seen, Kabul was formally annexed to the empire after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1584 and was then handed over to the charge of Raja Man Singh. Akbar succeed in checking the unruly spirit of the Uzbegs (whose leader Abdulla had become very powerful), and defeated the Roshniyas,[106] their leader Jalal (son of Bayazid) being killed at Ghazni towards the close of 1600. Zani Khan and Raja Birbal were sent for suppressing the Yusufzais, but the "generals themselves were at loggerheads with each other, they had no common plan of action, and the result was that the army got into a state of absolute confusion." This gave an opportunity to the Afghans, who attacked the Mughals at a disadvantage with stones and arrows, and killed 8,000 among them including Raja Birbal. Akbar was greatly mortified on hearing of this catastrophe and for two days he did not see anybody or eat anything. Raja Todar Mal and Prince

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[105] Kennedy, *History of the Great Mughals*, p. 27.

[106] The Roshniyas were the followers of Bayazid, a religious fanatic, who "had been preaching a special form of Muhammadanism in which communism on the one hand and the destruction of the enemies of Islam on the other, seem to have been two of the leading features. Added to this, his suggestion that he was the Mehdi (the Messiah) to come and we have all the elements of religious explosion." (*Ibid.*) The rise of the Roshniyas at the same time as Akbar was developing a cosmopolitan attitude and state-policy is very significant.

Murad were however sent at the head of a large army to chastise the Afghans. Todar Mal inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels, and, as Abul Fazl writes: "A large number were killed and many were sold into Turan and Persia. The countries of Sawad (Swat), Bajaur and Buner which have few equals for climate, fruits and cheapness of food were cleansed of the evil-doers."[107]

✓ Qandahar at this time became subject to frequent incursions of the Uzbegs. Finding himself unable to maintain his position, Mirza Muzaffar Husain, son and successor of Sultan Husain Mirza, surrendered it to Akbar in 1595. The suppression of the Afghan borderers and the unexpected occupation of Qandahar struck terror into the heart of the Uzbeg leader, Abdulla. Apprehending an alliance between Akbar and Shah Abbas of Persia against himself, he gave up his hostile activities and henceforth remained friendly to the Mughal Empire. ✓Thus Akbar's policy in the North-West brought territorial gains to the empire, secured its position in that important frontier and added to its prestige. He often avowed his intention of winning back the Timuride heritage of Trans-Oxiana but did not take the actual step of crossing the Hindukush, prudently satisfying himself with the advantages gained in Afghanistan.

But the Persians remained jealous of the Mughal occupation of Qandahar and waited for an opportunity to strike a blow for its recovery. The death of Akbar and the disorder in the country due to the rebellion of Khusrav " put an edge on their design " and they decided to re-conquer Qandahar. Persia was at this time ruled by Shah Abbas (1587—1629), one of the greatest Asiatic rulers in his time. Encouraged and directed by him, Persian irregulars attacked Qandahar in 1606, but their attempt was foiled by Mughal generals in the course of the next year.

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[107] These Mughal reverses and successes in Afghan land read very much like the Afghan wars of the British period.

Shah Abbas was not, however, a man to give up his designs. Failing to secure his object by arms, he took recourse to diplomacy and tried to win the confidence of Jahangir by sending four embassies with rich presents and warm compliments to him, who in turn exchanged these with the Persian emperor. Thus, " deceived by gifts and professions," the Mughals foolishly neglected the defence of Qandahar. Taking advantage of this, Shah Abbas renewed his attempt for the recovery of Qandahar, and besieged the fort there in 1622. Jahangir and Nurjahan, who were then in Kashmir, left the place immediately and tried hard to collect a large army to relieve. But the grand preparations of the Emperor could not be utilised in its defence. Shahjahan, who had consolidated his hold on the Deccan as its governor and whom the Emperor wanted to lead the Qandahar expedition, refused to accompany it before the rains were over, and unless he was placed in full command over the army with complete authority over the Punjab, and also unless the fort of Ranthambhor was given to him for the safe residence of his family while he was away at the frontier. Shahjahan's unwillingness was due to his suspicion that during his absence at Qandahar, the recovery of which " was sure to prove a long and difficult affair," Nurjahan would apply all her energies to prejudice his interests and to destroy his claims to the throne for safeguarding the position of her favourite son-in-law Shahriyar. He wanted full control over the army and the Punjab because he rightly thought that without unity of command and a suitable base of operations in the rear the expulsion of the Persians would not be an easy matter and that with these two in his hands he might frustrate the plans of Nurjahan, through the help of the Governor of Kabul, who was all along hostile to her.

But Shahjahan's proposal could never be accepted so long as Nurjahan ruled the court; she took hold of this opportunity to poison Jahangir's mind against him by interpreting his conditions as signs of premediated treason. She succeeded in securing the northern *jagirs* of Shahjahan and the *fief* of Dholpur for her son-in-law Shahriyar. The latter being raised to the rank of 12,000 *zat* and 8,000 *sawar* was given the command of the Qandahar expedition. Shahjahan's solicitations to his father could not move him, as Nurjahan's intrigues had definitely alienated his sympathies.

Internal dissensions like these always help the external foe. Shahriyar's appointment as the commander of the Qandahar expedition was an unfortunate incident, and the 'Nurjahan junta,' by demoralising the political atmosphere at the Mughal court, affected the efficiency of the operations for the relief of Qandahar, which fell into the hands of the Persians after a siege lasting for forty-five days. The Persian king soon sent a letter to Jahangir affirming therein the rightful claim of his family to Qandahar and professing friendship at the same time. Jahangir's feelings were highly exasperated against the Shah and he decided to pay him back for his treachery by sending another expedition. But he could hardly hope to extinguish one fire at a distance when his own weakness and the evil influence of Nurjahan had kindled another at home. Just at this time, Shahjahan raised the standard of rebellion, and the suppression of it diverted the attention and efforts of Jahangir from the Qandahar expedition.

As an emperor, Shahjahan entertained ambitious schemes of expansion towards the North-West. He tried to seduce Ali Mardan, the Persian Governor of Qandahar, through Said Khan, his own Governor of Kabul, so that he might hand over Qandahar Fort to him. But Ali Mardan proved stern, whereupon Shahjahan made ready an expedition to Qandahar. Ali Mardan also commenced preparations for defence and requested his master, the Shah of Persia, to send him further reinforcements. But the latter misunderstood his intentions and suspecting selfish designs on the part of his governor, tried even to arrest him. This was an unwise step on the Shah's part, and it only served to estrange the loyalty of his governor, who now opened correspondence with Said Khan for surrendering the fort to the Mughals, who thereupon easily took possession of Qandahar (1639). Ali Mardan entered the Mughal imperial service and received high honour and office and also a reward of one lakh of rupees. He was ultimately raised to the rank of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawar* and received the governorship of the Punjab and Kashmir. Shahjahan "spent immense sums in strengthening the defences and replenishing the stores and arsenals of Qandahar and its dependencies, Bist and Zamin Dawar."[108]

To the north of Kabul lay the provinces of Balkh and Badakshan, hemmed in between the Hindukush and the Oxus. Encouraged by the success at Qandahar and prompted by a desire to regain Samarqand, which had once been the capital of the earlier Timurids, Shahjahan decided on the conquest of Balkh and Badakshan, dependencies of the kingdom of Bokhara that had then poor resources for defence. The court historian Abdul Hamid correctly noted the motive for this push into the lands beyond the Hindukush: "because they were the heritage of Babar and also lay in the way to Samarkand, the capital of Timur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty."

But this Central-Asiatic adventure of Shahjahan was nothing but an ambitious dream. The invasion of such a distant and inhospitable region, "which could supply no rich booty, no fertile fief, and no decent houses to live in,"[109] had

[108] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 116.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 81. In ancient times (*e.g.*, 600 B.C.—100 A.D.) this region was a verp rich and inviting one; but the charms that tempted Greeks

little attraction for the Indian army and no prospect of gains for the empire either. The mobilisation of sufficient numbers of troops through the lofty Hindukush was itself a risky enterprise and the success of the invasion was highly doubtful. Sir J. N. Sarkar has rightly remarked that " the prosperity of his (Shahjahan's) reign and the flattery of his courtiers had turned his head, and that he was dreaming the vainest of vain dreams."[110]

Shahjahan got an opportunity to give effect to his ' long-cherished scheme ' on the outbreak of a civil war in the ruling family of the Oxus region. After the retirement of Imam Quli Khan, who had governed Bokhara for thirty-two years, his younger brother Nazar Muhammad got the throne (1642). But the latter proved to be an unsuccessful ruler. " His extreme avarice and niggardliness alienated his generals," who became mutinous and proclaimed his son Abdul Aziz to be the king (17th April, 1645). Nazar Muhammad tried to pacify his rebellious son by giving him Trans-Oxiana and keeping Balkh and Badakshan for himself. But the Mughals had already invaded Badakshan.

In 1646 Prince Murad and Ali Mardan occupied Balkh and Badakshan. But Murad and most of his officers became sick of the uncongenial climate of Balkh and returned to Hindustan against the will of the Emperor. The wazir, Sadullah Khan, immediately proceeded to Balkh, stationed the imperial troops at important centres under different generals and returned to Kabul after 22 days. Next year (1647) the Emperor sent another expedition to Balkh under Aurangzeb, who was,

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and Indians to settle there had disappeared during the middle ages owing to repeated barbarian invasions and occupations, and probably it never occurred to contemporary Indians that here was an opportunity for redeeming Indian territories hitherto lost to India.

[110] *Ibid.*

however, handicapped in the face of various odds from the very beginning.

On 15th October, 1647, they delivered the city and fort of Balkh to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons, and two days later began the return journey extreme across the Hindukush in the course of which they were subjected to extreme hardships and troubles. To the credit of the Mughals, it should be admitted that they had borne all the hardships and miseries of this strenuous fighting in a distant land, with extraordinary patience and courage. Aurangzeb, who was the moving spirit of the expedition, did not, like others before him, quit the field for fear of life or for the pleasures of the Indian plains, but continued struggling against adversity with an indomitable spirit, and even in the thick of fighting he would kneel down for his evening prayers. Such conduct did not fail to impress his adversary, the king of Bokhara, who exclaimed: "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin."[111] But with all their efforts the Mughals could not hold their conquests.

From all points of view, the Central-Asian enterprise of Shahjahan ended in a disastrous failure. It caused considerable losses in men and money without giving an inch of ground to the empire or adding to its prestige in the least. Sir J. N. Sarkar has thus estimated the results of these expeditions:

"Thus ended Shahjahan's fatuous war in Balkh—a war in which the Indian treasury spent four krores of rupees in two years and realised from the conquered country a revenue of 22½ lakhs only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain stored in the Balkh fort, worth five lakhs, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the Bukharians, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons and Rs. 22,500 to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle and ten times that number (including camp followers) were slain by cold and snow on the mountains. Such is the terrible price that aggressive imperialism makes India pay for wars across the north-western frontier."[112]

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[111] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 94.

After such a disaster, the Persians could hardly tolerate the Mughal possession of Qandahar. Shah Abbas II, who had come to the throne in 1642, made preparations for its recovery in August 1648, by storing up grains at important strategic points and by stationing a large force at Herat. His idea was to begin the attack in winter, when snowfall in Afghanistan would make the arrival of reinforcements from India difficult. When, on report of these preparations, Shahjahan consulted his ministers about the best way of checking the designs of the Shah, they suggested the postponement of a punitive expedition till the winter was over. But " the natural consequence of neglecting an enemy followed. The Persian king . . . . triumphed over the depth of winter, his lack of provisions, and other difficulties, on which the courtiers of Shahjahan had built their hopes, and laid siege to Qandahar on 16th December 1648."[113] The siege lasted for 57 days after which the Mughal garrison under Daulat Khan, finding that no help was coming from India, capitulated on 11th February, 1649. This disgrace of the Mughals was a natural sequel to the weak policy of Shahjahan and his courtiers, who not only failed to make adequate preparations in time but also foolishly left Daulat Khan alone in charge of Qandahar defence. They ought to have sent there a more capable man, because " in war it is not men but *the man* that counts."[114]

Aurangzeb and Sadulla Khan, who had been already advancing towards the north-west for checking the operations of the Persians, were now ordered by Shahjahan to push on hurriedly to prevent the Persians from consolidating their conquest. The Emperor himself proceeded to Kabul (April, 1649) to direct his troops from the rear. The Mughals appeared before Qandahar and besieged the fort on 16th May, 1649. But the Persians had already prepared themselves to meet the attack. Moreover they possessed a large number of fieldpieces against which the Mughals had no big guns. So the Mughals "failed with all their efforts," after a siege lasting for 3 months and 20 days, and Aurangzeb retreated hurriedly from Qandahar in obedience to his father's orders.

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[112] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

After three years' preparations the Mughals again besieged Qandahar on 22nd May, 1652. The army had strict instructions from the Emperor that "no assault was to be delivered without making a breach." But the inefficient gunners of the Mughals could effect nothing in the face of the superior Persian artillery.

Sadulla Khan informed Shahjahan that there was not the least hope of success against the Persians and that the provisions had run short. Moreover a body of Uzbeg horsemen, who had arrived in the district south of Ghazni, were threatening the Mughal line of communication between Kabul and Qandahar. Shahjahan, therefore, sent orders for abandoning the siege. Aurangzeb, who wanted to remove the disgrace of defeat, requested his father to give him another chance for renewing the attack. But Shahjahan remained inexorable and did not change his orders. In fact he had lost his confidence in Aurangzeb and wrote to him: "If I had believed you capable of taking Qandahar, I should not have recalled your army. Every man can perform some work. It is a wise saying that men of experience need no instruction." Aurangzeb left for the Deccan in August 1652, and Dara Shukoh received charge of the government of Kabul.

Aurangzeb's humiliation caused profound joy in the heart of his rival Dara, who was now exalted by the title of 'Shah Buland Iqbal' or 'King of Lofty Fortune.' He proceeded with a vaster army and a larger park of artillery against Qandahar (22nd November, 1652), and promised to capture it within a week. But after five months' siege he returned unsuccessful and discredited. Qandahar was thus finally lost to the Mughal Empire.

The three Qandahar campaigns caused considerable loss in men and money to the empire without adding to it an inch of territory. "The Indian tax-payer scattered in the wilds of Afghanistan about twelve krores of rupees or more than half the gross annual revenue of the entire empire, for absolutely no return." The moral prestige of the empire was sacrificed at the altar of imperial vanity and henceforth its military inefficiency became patent to the world. The repeated failures of the Mughals before Qandahar, coming so soon after the disasters in Central Asia, increased the military fame of the Persians and Trans-frontier races, and generated high hopes in their minds. "For years afterwards the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud on the western frontier of India" till in the middle of the eighteenth century it burst forth in returning storms and wrought a terrible havoc over the riches-laden Mughal Empire. The fate of the Mughal operations in the north-west frontier has an important lesson for all governments of India; it showed that for the effective control of this invaluable frontier occasional despatch of large and expensive punitive armies from the interior can be of no avail and that it needs the permanent establishment of powerful garrisons with superior equipments at several strategic points. The British Government has fully realised this.

As an emperor, Aurangzeb followed a forward policy on the north-west frontier, the scene of his earlier strenuous though futile activities. The unruly and turbulent tribes of that region, further subdivided into clans, were incapable of being organised into a nation, of establishing " any large and compact State, or even any enduring confederacy of tribes," or of working under a common head except for a time for plunder. They were continual disturbers of the peace of the adjacent countries or the safety of the roads and followed highway robbery as their means of livelihood. Besides using force for suppressing them, the Mughal Government sometimes offered them bribes in order to maintain order in that region. But " even political pensions were not always effective in securing their obedience "[114] and their predatory habits and nefarious activities created a problem for the Mughal Empire. We have seen how Akbar and his two immediate successors tried to solve this problem of securing peace and order in that region with varying successes and failures. Troubles appeared afresh with the closing years of Shahjahan's reign and became serious at the accession of Aurangzeb. The Yusufzais first rose in arms in 1667 under one of their leaders named Bhagu. They crossed the Indus above Attock and invaded Pakhli in the Hazara district, where they captured the fort of Shadman, a local chieftain, and began to realise rents from the peasants. They attacked other Mughal outposts, whereupon the endangered officers prayed to the Emperor, for help, who readily responded and sent three army divisions under three generals, to help the distressed officers and then invade the enemy country. They routed the Yusufzais completely (28th June, 1667), numbers of them being slain or drowned in the river and three hundreds of them being taken prisoners. The Mughal generals also plundered many of their villages inflicting heavy losses. Thus the Yusufzais were suppressed for some time, and in the middle of 1671 Maharaja Jaswant Singh was sent by the Emperor to hold the outpost of Jamrud.

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[114] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 220.

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In 1672, however, the Afridis rose in revolt against the Mughals under their leader Acmal Khan, who proclaimed himself king and summoned the other tribes to join his standard. A rash attempt by Muhammad Amin Khan to put down their rising ended in disaster and he retreated to Peshawar with great difficulty. Ten thousands of the imperialists were slain in the field, above two crores of rupees in cash and kind fell into enemy's hands and about 20,000 men and women were captured and taken to Central Asiatic slave-markets for sale. On the other hand· this victory gave additional prestige and resources to the Afridi leader and drew new recruits to his side eager for plunder.

Some time before this the Mughals had been confronted with another tribal rising led by Khush-hal Khan, the chief of the Khataks. The Khatak chief was invited to a *darbar* at Peshawar, where the Mughals arrested him treacherously. He was released in 1666 when he and his son proceeded with the Mughal army to fight with their hereditary enemies the Yusufzais. But the sight of his native land filled his mind with a longing for freedom; he joined the Afridi leader Acmal, and became the leader of a general Afghan movement. To meet this new menace, Aurangzeb immediately sent Farid Khan, the Governor of Lahore, to Peshwar, and Mahabat Khan was recalled from the Deccan and sent to Kabul. But as the latter proved a traitor he was replaced by Shujaat Khan, who was, however, severely defeated by the Afghans. Convinced of the necessity of suppressing the (Afghan) rising as quickly as possible, the Emperor proceeded in person to Hassan Abdal (24th June, 1674) and remained there for two years and a half. Force and diplomacy worked together; many clans were won over to the Mughal side by the grant of presents, pensions, jagirs and offices, while the irreconcilables were suppressed by arms. The sons of both the Khatak chief and the Yusufzai leader came over to the Mughals. Yet the fighting did not stop. But in spite of heavy losses and reverses, " on the whole, the imperialists held their own by means of outposts and forts at strategic points in the Pathan country,"[115] and by the end of the year 1675. the Emperor was able to leave for Delhi. Amin Khan, who went to Kabul as its governor on 8th June, 1678, brought over many of the Afghan chiefs to his side by following a tactful conciliatory policy under the wise guidance of his wife Sahibji, a daughter of the famous Ali Mardan Khan. Thus the Emperor was able somehow to suppress the Afghan rising and to maintain his prestige in the north-west " by following the policy of paying subsidies, or by setting one clan against another clan,—or to use his own metaphor, breaking two bones by knocking them together.."[116]

But while the Yusufzais and the other tribes submitted to the Mughals, the Khatak chief Khush-hal Khan continued the fight for many years afterwards, like another Pratap Singh, with unshaken determination and unbending spirit though his own son and kinsmen were fighting against him. The memory of his captivity in Hindustan had filled his mind with a spirit of vengeance and he would not stoop to barter away his freedom for petty personal gains. But the nearest of kin may sometimes turn out to be a man's greatest enemy and frustrate his best efforts; the Khatak hero was at last betrayed into the hands of Aurangzeb by his own son.

The Mughal successes in the north-west frontier were in no way very brilliant, and were purchased at a great cost. Sir J. N. Sarkar has thus summarised its effects : " Ruinous as the Afghan war was to imperial finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible, though Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the imperialists in that rugged and barren country. Moreover it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the north-west frontier. The Maratha chief took advantage of this division of his enemy's strength to sweep in a dazzling succession of triumphs through Golconda to the Karnatak and back again through Mysore and Bijapur to Raigarh, during the fifteen months following December 1676. It was the climax of his career; but the Afridis and Khataks made its unbroken success possible."[117]

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

Aurangzeb wanted to justify his own behaviour with his father and brothers in the eyes of the Muslim powers of the world, and, from his accession to the throne till the end of his reign, he maintained friendly relations and exchanged embassies and letters with them. Soon after his accession, he sent an embassy to the Sharif of Mecca with six lakhs and sixty thousand rupees for distribution among the poor, the recluses and the devotees at Mecca and Medina. The embassy returned to India in 1665, being accompanied by Sayyid Yahiya, who brought a friendly letter and some relics from the Sharif of Mecca. From this time almost every year agents of the Sharif came to the Delhi Court and realised money in the name of the Prophet. But as the Sharif began to appropriate the money for himself instead of distributing it among the poor, so Aurangzeb adopted the policy of sending money to the poor people of the Holy cities through the merchants of Surat without the knowledge of the Sharif.

Shah Abbas II, the ruler of Persia, sent an embassy to Aurangzeb under Budaq Beg conveying congratulations to him on his accession to the throne. The ambassador reached Delhi through Baluchistan and Multan on 22nd May, 1661, and was honourably received there. Tarbiyat Khan, the Governor of Multan, was also sent to Persia from the Mughal Court with a letter and presents of the value of about seven lakhs of rupees; but he received a rude treatment at the court of the Shah, who spoke in his presence about invading India and sent through him a taunting letter to Aurangzeb. When Tarbiyat Khan returned to the Emperor in September 1666, the latter "vented his important rage on the innocent envoy, accused him of having failed in his duty, denied him audience, degraded him in rank and finally sent him off as subahdar to the penal province of Orissa (June 1667)."[118] The Mughal Emperor suspected a Persian invasion of India and began to make preparations for repulsing it. But this was far from the truth; the Persian monarchy had at that time (14 years after its final conquest of Qandahar) been greatly weakened and the dreaded invasion did not come,—though the tribal ferment in the north-western frontier in those years made the situation very favourable for it.

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[117] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

Aurangzeb's Central-Asian policy was not aggressive like that of his father, but he maintained all along "frequent and uniformly cordial" intercourse with the powers of Central Asia. He exchanged friendly embassies and presents with Subhan Quli, now king of Balkh, Abdul Aziz Khan, king of Bokhara, and Abdulla Khan, king of Kashgar. He warmly received Abdulla Khan, when he retired to India after deposition by his son Bulbaras Khan. There were several scholars and merchants in Central Asia with whom he kept up a regular correspondence.

With the Turkish possessions in Europe Aurangzeb had not much contact, except that in June 1690, he received an embassy from Constantinople; but with the chiefs of Arabia his relations were intimate. With those of Africa he had very slight connection. Thus under him the fame of the Mughal Empire spread throughout the different parts of the Muslim world.

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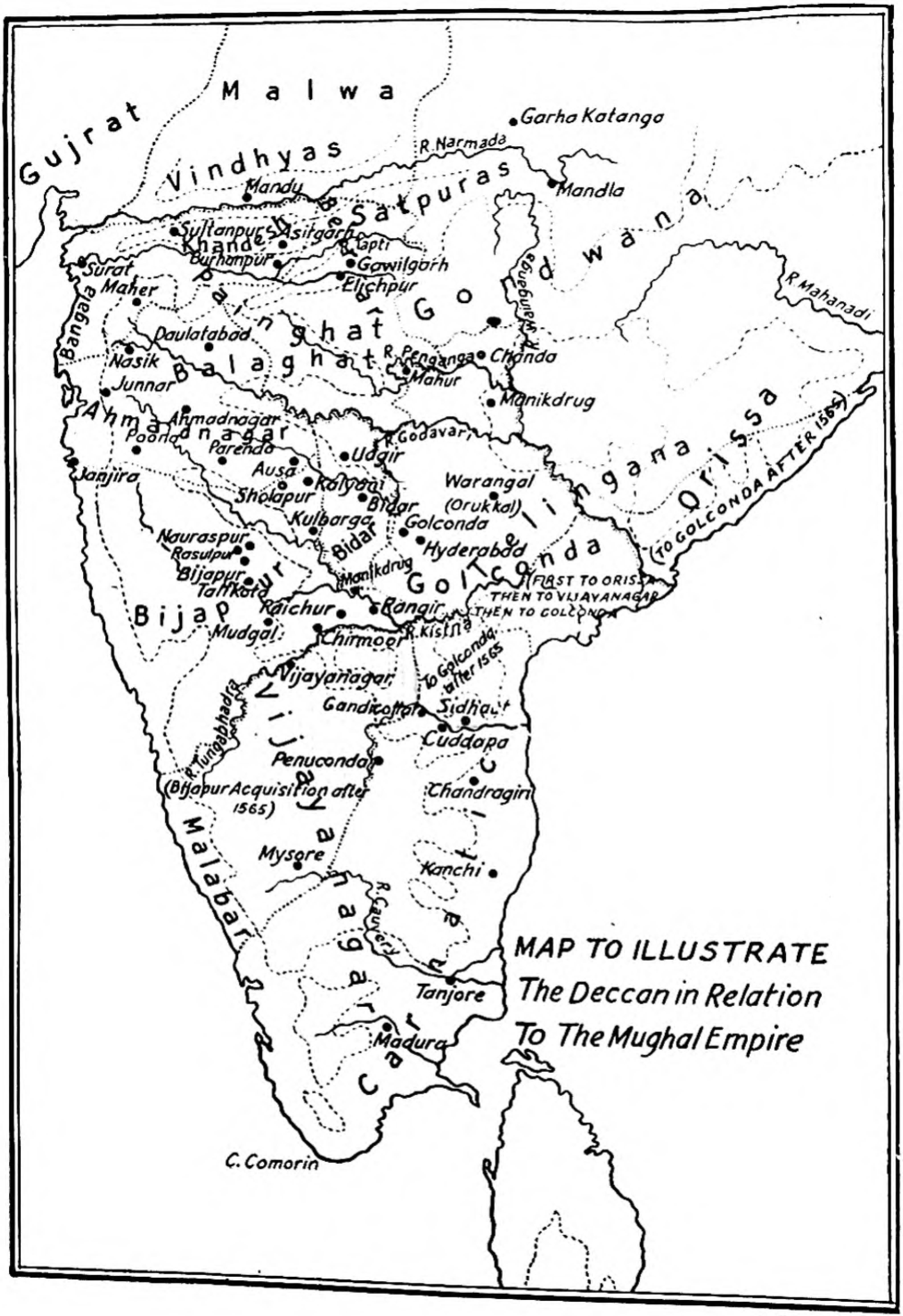
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

SECTION IV

THE DECCAN IN RELATION TO THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

While the Mughals were trying (1519—62) to establish an empire in Northern India, the South was dominated by the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar (as it was in the preceding century and a half). But the Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan remained ever jealous of the power of the Hindu Empire, and their opportunity came when, after the death of Krishna Deva Raya (1529), the sceptre passed into the hands of his weak and incompetent brother Achyuta Raya (1530—42). Ismail Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur, recovered from him the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal, situated between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. About this time several factions arose at the Vijayanagar court, and in 1535 one of these invited Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur and the latter returned to his capital with rich presents after staying there for a week. Achyuta Raya died in 1542 and was succeeded by Sadasiva Raya, son of one of his predeceased brothers, who however became a puppet in the hands of Rama Raya, son of Krishna Deva Raya's able minister Saluva Timma. In 1543 Rama Raya entered into an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkunda for an attack on Bijapur which was, however, saved by the tact and abilities of its clever minister Asad Khan, who broke up the coalition and made peace with Burhan Nizam Shah. A shifting of alliances took place in 1558 when Bijapur, Golkunda and Vijayanagar combined against Ahmadnagar and invaded it. The Vijayanagar army committed merciless ravages on the people of Ahmadnagar. This opened the eyes of the Muslim states, who now realised the necessity of dropping their suicidal conflicts and of combining against their common rival, the infidel state of Vijayanagar. In 1564 the Sultans of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmad-


Malwa
Gujrat
Vindhyas
Garha Katanga
R. Narmada
Mandu
Satpuras
Mandla
Gondwana
Sultanpur
Khandesh
Asirgarh
R. Tapti
Burhanpur
Gawilgarh
Surat
Elichpur
Berar
Maher
Painghat
R. Wainganga
R. Mahanadi
Bangala
Daulatabad
Nasik
Balaghat
R. Penganga
Chanda
Mahur
Junnar
Manikdrug
Ahmadnagar
Ahmadnagar
Poona
R. Godavari
Parenda
Udgir
Ausa
Kalyani
Janjira
Sholapur
Bidar
Warangal
(Orukkal)
Tilingana
Orissa
(TO GOLCONDA AFTER 1565)
Kulbarga
Bidar
Golconda
Hyderabad
Nauraspur
Rasulpur
Bijapur
Talikota
Manikdrug
Golconda
(FIRST TO ORISSA
THEN TO VIJAYANAGAR
THEN TO GOLCONDA
Bijapur
Raichur
Rangir
Mudgal
R. Kistna
Chirmool
To Golconda after 1565
Vijayanagar
Gandicottah
Sidhaut
R. Tungabhadra
Cuddapa
Vijayanagar
Penuconda
(Bijapur Acquisition after 1565)
Chandragiri
Malabar
Mysore
Kanchi
R. Cauvery
Carnatic
Tanjore
Madura
C. Comorin

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
The Deccan in Relation
To The Mughal Empire

nagar, and Golkunda entered into a confederacy against Vijayanagar and sealed it by inter-dynasty marriages (the most notable of them being that of Chand Bibi, daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, to Ali Adil Shah).

The allies began their southward march by the end of December 1564, and pooled their forces in about three weeks' time at Talikota in Bijapur territory to the north of the Krishna. At Vijayanagar there was the utmost confidence. Sadasiva, the king, lived his profitless life in inglorious seclusion, and Rama Raya, the king *de facto*, never for a moment relaxed his haughty indifference to the movements of his enemies. "He treated their ambassadors," says Firishta, "with scornful language, and regarded their enmity as of little moment."[119] Confident of the strength of numbers he led to battle an army of between five and ten lacs of men besides numerous elephants and guns, while his enemies could assemble only about half of his host. At first the Hindus seemed to have the advantage but they were ultimately routed in the so-called battle of Talikota (really of Raksas Tagdi); Rama Raya was captured and forthwith beheaded by Husain Nizam Shah of Admadnagar. About a lac of the Hindus were slain and though princes and nobles fled further south with their riches, yet "the plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired only taking elephants for their own use." In two days' time the victors entered the undefended city of Vijayanagar, already being plundered by robber bands, and more than avenged the devastation of Ahmadnagar by Rama Raya (which however was only a return for the Bahmani atrocities in its wars with Vijayanagar). The fearful destruction, wrought on the city, has been thus pictured by Sewell: "The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Mussalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment but now they had reached the capital and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that with the exception of a few great stone-built temples, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to make the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vitthalaswami near the river, and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plentitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

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[119] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 200.

The so-called battle of Talikota[120] is undoubtedly one of the most important battles in the whole course of Indian history and it marked a brilliant triumph of the forces of aggressive Islam against the Hindu predominance in the South. But the Vijayanagar Empire was not completely destroyed there.[121] A modern writer has remarked that " Talikota was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric, of the Vijayanagar Empire."[122] As a matter of fact, another brilliant period of Vijayanagar history followed close upon this defeat, under the Aravidu dynasty.[123] After Talikota, Rama Raya's brother, Tirumala, usurped the royal power, founded a new dynasty in 1570, and " from Penugonda as his capital he began to exercise . . . commanding authority for intervention in the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom."[124] About 1586 his son, Ranga II, was succeeded by his brother Venkata I, who was the most remarkable king of this new line. He removed the capital to Chandragiri (whence Madras was obtained by the British later on) and patronised Telugu poets and Vaishnava authors[125] But under his successors disintegration came in; much of the territory of the empire gradually fell into the hands of the Muslim states of Bijapur and Golkunda (e.g., the Karnatic), and subordinate governors or chieftains like the Naiks of Madura or Tanjore carved independent principalities out of it in Mysore, Malabar and the extreme South.

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[120] The allied troops first assembled at Talikota, but the actual battle was fought on the south of the Krishna at a place about thirty miles distant from Talikota.

[121] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 213—15.

The Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golkunda,[126] did not gain very much by striking this terrible blow on the Hindu Empire of the South. Its growth had kept them constantly active and watchful. But as its weakness dispelled their fears they sank back to inefficiency and again began to quarrel among themselves. Weak and divided among themselves, they presently fell an easy prey to the ambitious Mughals of the North.[127] They lost as great a chance, as did the Afghans and native Mussalmans of Northern India, of building up an Indo-Moslem empire from within by keeping away foreign adventurers, so that the Mughal (or Turki) dominion became assured by the double failure of the Afghans after Babar and of the Deccani Moslems in the time of Akbar.

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[122] *Journal of Indian History*, 1927, p. 78.

[123] Heras, *History of the Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I.

[124] *Journal of Indian History*, 1930, p. 176.

[125] Prof. Tucci has recently brought to light the Travels of the *guru* of Taranath in this period, from which it is clear that the Vijayanagar Empire with its patronage of Telugu and Vaisnavism was quite flourishing in the latter of Akbar's reign.

[126] Berar did not join the combination.

There was also another new and important factor in the history of Peninsular India in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese had strongly established themselves along the west and south-east coasts and had baffled the attempts of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda to capture their settlements in 1570. It seemed likely that they would grow into an Indian power through their interference in the affairs of the Deccan and South-Indian States, besides capturing the sea-borne trade of India.

Such a state of things could not but rouse the imperialistic ambition of Akbar and draw his arms to the South. It should also be noted that in his southward movement Akbar was following a path many centuries old. " The Deccan policy of the Mughals was a legacy of two thousand years (or more) of Indian history, the direct outcome of geographical facts."[128] In spite of physical barriers like the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges, the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin possesses a geographical as well as a cultural unity. The homogeneous factors have always produced and the heterogeneous factors have always checked " the attempts of the North and the South to dominate each other." But the assimilation of the two regions into one political unit was never completely achieved before the days of the British who progressed, at one and the same time, as a southern and an eastern and a northern power. The earlier conquerors of the one region enjoyed only partial sovereignty in the other, as is shown by the history of the Mauryan, the Gupta and the post-Gupta, the Khilji and the Tughlaq attempts to conquer and dominate the South, and by that of the Satavahana, the Chalukya and the Rashtrakuta, the Chola and the Kalachuri, and the Vijayanagar pushes towards the North. The aggression of the Mughals of the North from 1561 to 1691 produced its reaction in the aggression of the Marathas of the South from 1660 to 1794, the wasting of the Mughal Empire in the Deccan came to be repeated in the frittering away of Maratha power in Hindustan; and if Aurangzeb's career to his death was in the South, the north gate of Poona was significantly called the Delhi Gate.

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[127] Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

[128] Beni Prasat, *Jahangir*, p. 254.

After Akbar had consolidated his authority in Northern and Central India, the " age-long conflict between the north and the south was resumed."[129] He had two objects in view, both being the direct outcome of his imperialism. Firstly, he wanted to bring the whole of India under his control so that he could not allow the states of the Deccan to remain independent; and secondly, he wanted, through his hold on the South, to push the Portuguese back to the seas, for though he apparently maintained an attitude of friendship with them, he looked upon them as the enemies of his empire, exploiting a good part of its economic resources, and interfering in Indian politics to the detriment of the integrity of the growing empire.[130] It is this double objective that distinguishes the Deccan policy of Akbar from that of his successors, who modified the one and abandoned or substituted the other of the two original purposes. No national empire can flourish if foreigners are allowed to acquire control over a major part of its economic resources and to build up a political power in the same soil, or if portions of the country are allowed to be torn asunder by the mutual conflicts of petty independent states. It was not poor statesmanship that felt the necessity of controlling and reclaiming the seaboard in the interests of the new Indian Empire, and emphasised political imperialism rather than religious orthodoxy as the guiding principle of territorial expansion in the Peninsula.

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[129] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[130] *Akbar*, p. 265.

There were at this time (c. 1590) four independent powers in the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkunda and Khandesh with whom Akbar had to deal; Berar had been already incorporated (1574) in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and Biḍar had become insignificant (annexed by Bijapur, 1609). In 1591, Akbar sent embassies to the four kingdoms demanding from them "some sort of formal recognition of his overlordship of the Deccan." All returned evasive answers except the kingdom of Khandesh, which was then ruled by a prince of the Farruqi dynasty, named Raja Ali Khan. Akbar, therefore, decided upon war. In 1593 a large army proceeded under Bairam Khan's son, Abdur Rahim, against Ahmadnagar, and in 1595 Prince Murad was also associated with him. Operations were hampered as the Deccan states continued to fight among themselves and the two Mughal generals also could not pull on well with each other. Ahmadnagar was somehow invested by the Mughals; but it was defended with a courage and resolution, reminiscent of her contemporary Durgavati, by Chand Sultana, dowager-queen of Bijapur and sister of Burhan-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar whose marriage in 1564 for once symbolised unity of the Deccan states. The result was a treaty in 1596 by which Berar was ceded to the Empire and the boy-king of Ahmadnagar promised to recognise Akbar's supremacy. But an intriguing faction at Ahmadnagar violated the treaty and deprived Chand Sultana of her influence in state affairs. War was renewed, and the Mughals gained victory in a battle, though with heavy losses, at Sufa near Ashti on the Godavari in February, 1597. Internal dissensions prevented the proper defence of Ahmadnagar, and Chand Sultana, being either " murdered or constrained to take poison," the city was easily stormed in August, 1600. But the final annexation of the kingdom was deferred till the reign of Shahjahan.

Mian Bahadur Shah, the new ruler of Khandesh, relying on the strength of the fortress of Asirgarh, manifested designs of shaking off the imperial authority. But Akbar also was now relieved from the fear of Uzbeg invasion by the death of Abdulla Khan Uzbeg in 1598, and could therefore end his thirteen years' vigil in the Punjab and proceed from Lahore via Agra to the South in July of the following year. He easily occupied Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, and besieged (February, 1600) the mighty fortress of Asirgarh practically invulnerable in those days owing to its strong natural and artificial defences and facility of keeping up an ample supply of foodstuff, water and equipments of war; besides Portuguese gunners (the best in India then) were employed for its defence. The besieged garrison was however greatly weakened by the outbreak of a terrible pestilence, and placed at a disadvantage by a treacherous act of Akbar. After six months of fruitless siege, Mian Bahadur Shah was inveigled by impatient Akbar into his camp for negotiation on promise of personal safety but was detained and compelled to write a letter to the garrison directing the surrender of the fort. This was followed up by lavish bribes to the Khandesh officers, so that in January, 1601, the gates of Asirgarh " were opened by golden keys." This was the last but the most disgraceful conquest of Akbar and henceforth he had no luck in the remaining few years of his career. Akbar's conduct on this occasion has been defended on the ground of expediency and pressing necessity, and it has been pointed out that he was led to use unfair means for taking Asirgarh as quickly as possible, because he had fresh difficulties to meet elsewhere, especially Salim's revolt in the North.[131]

The newly-conquered territories were organised as three subahs or provinces, namely, Ahmadnagar, Berar, Khandesh. After appointing Prince Daniyal Viceroy of Southern and Western India, that is to say, of the three new subahs with Malwa and Gujarat, Akbar returned to Agra in May 1601. "Thus in a few years the Mughal frontier had been pushed from the Narmada to the upper courses of the Krishna river (here called the Bhima). But the annexation was in form only. The new territory was too large to be effectively governed or even fully conquered. Everywhere, especially in the south and the west, local officers of the old dynasty refused to obey the conqueror, or began to set up puppet princes as a screen for their self-assertion. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda seized the adjacent districts of their fallen neighbour."[132]

Jahangir followed the aggressive policy of his father in the Deccan in the sense that he continued for long a feebly-conducted war against Ahmadnagar through quarrelling generals. There was not much hope of success against the persistent efforts of the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, Malik Ambar, a born leader of men and one of the greatest generals and statesmen of Muslim India.[133] He organised a fresh revenue system more or less on the line of Todar Mal which contributed to the happiness of the peasantry and to the wealth of the state: and it was he who for the first time trained the Marathas (in the Ahmadnagar army) in their famous guerrila method of warfare which afterwards enabled them to cope successfully with the Mughals.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[132] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 28.

[133] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Septembes, 1933.

The Mughal commanders of the Deccan expedition, Prince Parwez, Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim and Prince Khurram, frittered away their energies and resources between 1608 and 1617 by indulging in mutual rivalries, which enabled Malik Ambar to frustrate the designs of the imperialists. Prince Khurram gained but a partial success in 1616 by capturing Ahmadnagar and some other places. The prince and his lieutenants were rewarded with high honours and presents at the Imperial court. Khurram now became 'Shahjahan' (King of the World), received various gifts and his rank was raised to 30,000 *zat* and 20,000 *sawar*. The crafty Nurjahan celebrated a feast in honour of the prince and bestowed costly robes of honour on him. But the "glitter of jewels and the revelry of banquets shed a false lustre round Shahjahan's 'achievements.' As a matter of fact, he had only followed up the success of Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan, with a temporary truce. Nothing could conceal the stern reality that the expenditure of million of rupees and thousands of lives had not advanced the Mughal frontier a single line beyond the limit of 1605."[134] The Deccan was as yet far from being conquered in the real sense of the term.

When Shahjahan revolted against the Emperor and proceeded to the Deccan, Malik Ambar, who could not forget his hostility to the Mughal Empire, offered him a hearty welcome and allied himself with the prince against the Emperor.[135] Their designs were, however, foiled by the arrival of Mahabat Khan to the Deccan. But Nurjahan's jealousy led to the recall of Mahabat Khan and the chief command of the Deccan expedition fell into the weaker hands of Khan Jahan Lodi, who would have soon suffered defeat and disgraie, had not

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[134] Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 285.

[135] A striking earlier parallel of the rebel Prince Akbar's joining Rajputs and Marathas of the South.

Malik Ambar died in May 1626. The Deccan suffered a great loss in his death. The Mughal historian, Motamad Khan, who had no reason to be biased in favour of him, writes: "In warfare, in lommand, in sound judgment and in administration, he had no equal. He well understood that predatory warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *Bargi giri.*[136] He kept down the turbulent spirits of the country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence."[137]

Malik Ambar was succeeded by another able and unscrupulous Abyssinian named Hamid Khan, who renewed war with the Mughals. The imperial commander Khan Jahan like others before him could not resist the temptations for the Deccan gold, accepted a huge bribe from Hamid and ceded to him,[138] the whole country of Balaghat as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar. Thus Jahangir's Deccan policy had an inglorious end. It cost a great loss in men and money without bringing any territorial acquisition to the empire or adding in the least to its prestige. Indirectly it helped the rise of the Marathas, whose resources and military training improved greatly. Getting used to fighting and frustrating the Mughals, they emerged afterwards as the most dangerous enemies of the empire.

With Shahjahan's accession to the throne the Deccan policy of the Mughals passed into a new phase. He was an orthodox Sunni, while the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda were professed Shias. He ıegarded it his duty to exterminate them and hence besides motives of political aggression he was prompted by the zeal of faith to launch vigorous campaigns against the Deccan Sultanates. Religious feelings distinctly influenced political matters since the reign of Shahjahan, though there were already the beginnings of this change in the time of Jahangir; under Aurangzeb only a further step was taken so that politics was very often subordinated to religion. To the historians of the modern age it is clear enough that in spite of the apparent growth and splendour of the empire under these two rulers, a deadly canker had begun to eat into its vitals, and that the dismemberment of the empire came as the inevitable nemesis of the narrow and short-sighted policy of some of its rulers which was particularly unsuitable in a country like India, where the state has to deal with so many diverse elements equitably.

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[136] Cf. 'bargir hangama,' the phrase in Bengali, used for disturbances of Maratha raids.

[137] Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 428-29.

[138] Akbar's opening the gates of Asirgarh with golden keys was quick in bearing fruit. It would be interesting to trace the part played by corruption in Medieval and Modern Indian History.

Shahjahan followed a vigorous policy in the Deccan from the beginning of his reign. The death of Malik Ambar came as a blessing to the Mughals. In 1630 his unworthy son, Fateh Khan, the minister of Ahmadnagar, informed the Mughals that in order to protect his own life he had placed his master, the Nizam Shahi Sultan, in confinement. Shahjahan sent instructions to him in reply that he should " rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being." Fateh complied with this ghastly suggestion, and placed on the throne a ten-year-old minor prince, named Husain Shah, who became a puppet in the hands of his domineering and treacherous minister. Shahjahan then asked Asaf Khan to secure the submission of the Sultan of Bijapur, who had not so far acknowledged the imperial authority in the Deccan, and in case of non-compliance to conquer his kingdom. In 1631 Asaf Khan laid siege to Bijapur but was compelled to raise it after twenty days for want of supplies. The country suffered terribly owing to the oppression of the Mughals, who however withdrew with no permanent gains. These atrocities (followed by many more, as in 1636) produced by reaction a similar destructive force in the Deccan, born of hatred and revenge, which shortly began its work of hammering at the Mughal Empire.[139]

The Emperor left the Deccan for Agra on 4th April, 1632. Asaf Khan was now removed from the command of the Deccan expedition and Mahabat Khan was appointed in his place. Under him the Mughals laid siege to the fortress of Daulatabad, which Shahji (the father of the celebrated Shivaji) tried to wrest from the hands of the Nizam Shahis in alliance with the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. The Mughals made a breach in the defences by a mine and effected an entrance in the face of strong attack of the Bijapuris. The victors then laid another mine under the fortress-walls, but Fateh Khan now wavered in his alliance with the Mughals and tried to put off the exploding of it. The Khan-i-Khanan at once saw through his designs, won him over by a bribe of ten and a half lakhs, and thus secured the surrender of the fortress (1633). Just as at Asirgarh, the prestige of the imperial arms was saved more by bribery than by fair fight. The young nominal king Husain Shah was condemned to life-long imprisonment at Gwalior and the kingdom of the Nizam Shahis came to an end, though an unsuccessful attempt was presently made by Shahji to revive it by setting up a boy-prince of the Nizam Shahi family.

The Mughals however failed to take the fortress of Parenda, and owing to the outbreak of rains, they retreated to Burhanpur. Mahabat Khan died on 26th October, 1634, and Khan-i-Dauran was appointed to act temporarily in his place.

But Shahjahan's imperialistic or religious zeal could not be satisfied without the crushing of Bijapur and Golkunda. The help which they had secretly offered to the Nizam Shahis and the troubles created by Shahji (in Bijapur employ) added to his resentment and he called upon the rulers of those two countries to acknowledge his suzerainty, to pay *khiraj* as a mark of submission, and to abstain from interfering in the affairs of the now defunct kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Shahjahan himself arrived at Daulatabad on 21st February, 1636, and made ready an army of 50,000 men for attacking Bijapur and Golkunda if they did not submit ; while another army of 8,000, under Shaista Khan, was sent to capture the remaining Nizam Shahi forts in the north-west and to occupy the Junnār and Nasik districts. Terrified by these preparatory movements, Abdulla Qutb Shah of Golkunda accepted the suzerainty of Shahjahan, and with " an abjectness shameful in a crowned head," submitted to all the humiliating terms proposed by the latter. He promised to pay an annual tribute to Shahjahan, and to strike gold and silver coins, and to have the *Khutba* read, in his name.[140]

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[139] It will be noted that active persecution of Hindus and of Christians (*e.g.*, at Benares and Hugli respectively) had begun by this time: 2632: the Deccan devastation was only another manifestation of this change in the Mughal state policy.

The king of Bijapur did not, however, come down so low as to barter away his independence and ancestral dignity for personal safety. Three imperial armies marched into his kingdom from three sides,—one under Khan Jahan by way of Sholapur in the west, the second under Khan-i-Zaman by way of Indapur in the north-west and another under Khan-i-Dauran from Bidar in the north-east. Everywhere they " destroyed all trees of cultivation, burnt down the houses, drove off the cattle, butchered the villagers, or dragged them away to be sold as slaves." But the Bijapuris fought with the valour of despair and saved their capital by cutting the dam of the Shahpur lake and flooding the whole countryside round the capital. Tired of war, both sides opened negotiations for peace which was concluded on the following terms :

(1) The Adil Shah acknowledged the overlordship of the Emperor; (2) besides being allowed to retain his

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[140] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 29-30.

ancestral kingdom, he got slices from the territory of the late Ahmadnagar kingdom to the extent of fifty parganas yielding an annual income of twenty lakhs of huns or eighty lakhs of rupees, the rest of the kingdom being annexed to the empire; (3) a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees in cash and kind was demanded from him as tribute; (4) he was required not to molest the kingdom of Golkunda which was now a state under Imperial protection; (5) both sides agreed not to seduce their respective officers from their master's service; and (6) Shahji Bhonsle was not to be allowed to hold any office under the Bijapur State, nor was he to be given shelter in the Bijapur territory if he did not surrender the Nizam Shahi forts which he had occupied during the war.

As requested by Adil Shah, the Emperor, whose continued presence with a large army in the Deccan increased the fears and anxieties of the Deccan people, set out for Mandu on 11th July, 1636. Three days later he sent his eighteen-year-old son Aurangzeb as the Viceroy of the Deccan.

The Mughal Deccan at this time consisted of four provinces, namely:

(1) Khandesh or the Tapti Valley with its capital at Burhanpur and chief stronghold at Asirgarh. (2) Berar, south-east of Khandesh, with its capital at Elichpur and principal fort at Gwaligarh. (3) Telingana, a vast and undefined territory to the south of Gondwana, extending from Chanda and the Wainganga (Vena-Ganga) to the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Golkunda, with its capital Nander and fortress Kandhar. (4) The recently annexed Nizam Shahi territories with

capital and stronghold first at Ahmadnagar and later at Daulatabad.

The four provinces contained sixty-four hill forts and their total revenue was five crores of rupees. Some of these forts were still in the hands of Shahji and other hostile chieftains. Of these Shahjahan's generals captured Udgir and Ansa, and Khan-i-Zaman succeeded in securing the submission of Shahji, who surrendered to the Mughals his Nizam Shahi princeling (October 1636) together with Junnar and six other forts still held by him. The Gond country, between the Wardha (Varada) and the Wainganga, was raided and eight lakhs of rupees was exacted from the Gond chiefs (January 1637). Thus the wars between 1635—37 " enriched the Mughal treasury with tribute and booty amounting to two crores of rupees, and added to the empire a territory which when cultivated yielded a revenue of one crore."[141] The district of Baglana with its thirty-four parganas, lying between Khandesh and the Surat coast and ruled in unbroken succession for fourteen centuries by a Rathor family the Rajas of which used the distinctive title of Baharji, was conquered by the Mughals in January 1638 and its forts of Salir and Malir were captured. The ruler of the district submitted and joined the Mughal service ; he was created a mansabdar of 3,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sowar* and was allowed to possess an estate in Sultanpur, a district of Khandesh, north of the Tapti.

After one year's successful government, Aurangzeb returned to Agra in 1637 to marry Dilras Banu, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan of the Persian royal family who was a Mughal officer. Towards the end of the first term of his viceroyalty, he again went to Agra on 2nd May, 1644, to see his favourite sister Jahanara, who had been badly burnt on 26th March, 1644, and was cured at last in November by an ointment prepared by a slave named Arif.[142] Three weeks after his arrival at Agra, Aurangzeb was dismissed from his post and deprived of his rank and *jagirs* by the Emperor. The older historians have given rather obscure reasons for his sudden fall from favour and unemployment for about nine months. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, it was because, " misled by the wicked counsels of his foolish companions, he wanted to take to the retired life of an ascetic, and had also done some acts which the Emperor disapproved of." But this does not satisfactorily explain the changed situation. As gathered from the letters of Aurangzeb,[143] the real reason lay in Dara's jealousy of, and persistent hostility towards, his able brother, and Shahjahan's partiality towards the former. As his administrative measures were very often thwarted by Dara (who was in power at Agra) and as he was even sometimes insulted by him, he found it impossible to work in the Deccan with self-respect or with any chance of discharging his duties properly, and therefore resigned his post in disgust, whereupon he was formally dismissed and degraded. But he was again restored to favour and was sent as Governor of Gujarat on 16th February, 1645.

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[141] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

After serving with some initial success and disastrous failures in the North-West (Balkh, Badakhshan, Multan and Qandahar) from 1647 to 1652, early in 1653 Aurangzeb was again sent across the Narmada as the Deccan Subahdar so that he might be kept away from Dara at the capital. From November 1653, Aurangzeb's official headquarters was either Daulatabad or Aurangabad close by. During the nine years following his resignation in May 1644, the administration of the Deccan had been hopelessly mismanaged owing to a " succession of short viceroyalties and incompetent viceroys."[144] Bad government having followed devastating wars, the Deccan during these years presented a scene of desolation and misery, with its agriculture totally neglected, vast tracts of land lying depopulated and the peasantry being subjected to extortions at the hands of successive short-sighted governors. There was a distinct fall in the revenues of the Subah and even the normal expenses of the administration could not be defrayed from its resources ; the deficit had to be made good by drawing upon other provinces, and even the imperial treasury was heavily drained. The revenue of the four provinces of the Deccan was a decade ago estimated at three crores and sixty-two lakhs of rupees a year ; but in 1652 the actual collection came up to only one crore. Only one governor, Khan-i-Dauran, tried to send money to the imperial treasury by torturing the peasants.

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[142] The story of the East India Company's surgeon Gabriel Boughton curing her cannot be true, as has been shown by Mr. Foster (*Indian Antiquary*, 1911), and Dr. Smith (*Oxford History*, p. 401).

[143] Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 67.

But " the policy of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs soon failed " and Aurangzeb on his return was faced with a critical financial situation. The *jagirs* granted to the military and civil officers had failed to produce enough for their maintenance. The actual collection of the state was sometimes only one-tenth of the assessment even in some of the most fertile districts. In order to meet the expenses of the administration, Aurangzeb drew upon the cash reserves in the treasuries of the Deccan, especially in the fort of Daulatabad, but the problem of low cash balances caused a great anxiety to Aurangzeb. He proposed to Shahjahan that " jagirs in part should be given to him and his higher officers in other provinces, and the cash portion of his salary might be made a charge on the flourishing treasuries of Malwa and Surat." Shahjahan agreed to the first proposal, and, on Aurangzeb's refutation of the charge of selfish motives brought against him by the *jagirdars*, confirmed the transfer of lands, but he did not grant his second request for monetary assistance. The *jagirdars*, whose lands were thus resumed by Aurangzeb, complained to Shahjahan that the prince was collecting from the fiefs more than his sanctioned allowance, while they were actually starving. This highly enraged Shahjahan. But Aurangzeb did not submit to his father's reprimand quietly and ably protested that the charges against him were wholly unjust.[145]

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[144] Khan-i-Dauran succeeded Aurangzeb on 28th May, 1644, and was murdered on 22nd June, 1644. Jai Singh then officiated for him; Islam Khan was appointed on July 17, 1645, but died on 2nd November, 1647; Shah Nawaz Khan then officiated; Murad Bakhsh was appointed on 15th July, 1648; Shaista Khan replaced him on 4th September, and continued till September, 1652.

After improving the finances to some extent, Aurangzeb devoted himself to promote agriculture in the Subah and to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry. In his measures in this direction, which have made his viceroyalty " memorable for ever in the history of land-settlement in the Deccan," he received valuable assistance from an able officer named Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwan of the ' Balaghat.'

For fiscal purposes, the Deccan Province was divided into two parts, each with its own *diwan* or revenue minister. ' The Painghat ' comprised the whole of Khandesh and one-half of Berar, while the remaining two and a half subahs formed ' the Balaghat.' He extended the system of Todar Mal to the Deccan thus continuing and repairing the work of Malik Ambar, partially destroyed by the recent wars. He took care to restore the normal life of the villages by bringing the scattered ryots together and thus re-peopling them, and by supplying a regular gradation of village and local officers. *Amins* were appointed to measure the land, to prepare a record of holdings distinguishing arable from waste lands. New *muqaddams* (headmen) were appointed in the villages to look after the interests of the peasants and help him in the collection of revenues. Loans were advanced to the poorer ryots for the purchase of agricultural implements and seeds, and they were allowed to repay these at harvest by instalments. So ardent was the zeal of Murshid Quli for these reforms, that he often " dragged the measuring chain with his own hands " and personally inspected the work of his subordinates. Though his reforms were mainly based on those of Todar Mal, yet he wisely made many local exceptions. In backward and thinly-populated areas he retained the old fixed lump payment per *plough* ; while in other places he introduced the system of *batai* (metayership) for which there were three rates as follows :

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[145] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 166.

> (1) Where the crops depended on rainfall, the share of the state was one-half ; (2) where the irrigation work was done by well-water the state received one-third both for the *Kharif* and the *Rabi* crops, while in the case of grape, sugarcane and other high-priced crops the share of the state was from one-ninth to one-fourth ; (3) where the lands were irrigated by water from canals, the share of the state was sometimes higher and sometimes lower than in fields irrigated by well-water.

He also introduced in the Deccan another system of assessment called the *Jarib*, which was prevalent in Northern India and which came to be known afterwards for many centuries as " the *dhara* of Murshid Quli Khan." According to it the state-revenue was fixed per *bigha* after surveying the land and considering the quality and the quantity of crops produced therein. As a whole the reforms of Murshid Quli Khan contributed much to the improvement of agriculture and prosperity of the peasantry.

Aurangzeb did not stop with these internal reforms. He next took up the traditional policy of his dynasty and turned his attention towards destroying the independence of Bijapur and Golkunda, the two surviving Sultanates of the Deccan. Their independence was more offensive to and incompatible with Mughal imperialism now than half a century ago in Akbar's time, and their immense wealth having since then been several times plundered excited their cupidity all the more. Moreover, as an orthodox Sunni Shahjahan was surpassed by Aurangzeb, who from his early career evinced great zeal in taking up arms against these states, as their princes, nobles and peoples mostly professed the Shia creed and looked for patronage to the Shahan Shah of Persia rather than to the Padshah of Hindustan. Pretexts for immediate attack were not also wanting. The annual tribute from the Sultan of Golkunda had always been in arrears and he evaded payment by various excuses. Shahjahan asked him to pay half his tribute in cash and the other half in elephants. But when this was not listened to Aurangzeb demanded a certain part of his territory in lieu of the arrear tribute. The Emperor took offence at the conquest of Karnatak (from the river Krishna to Tanjore beyond the Kaveri) by the Sultanates which meant increase of their power and resources, and demanded a large sum from the Sultan of Golkunda by way of atonement for the alleged crime against Mughal suzerainty. Lastly, a plausible excuse for war was found in the Sultan's treatment of his officer Mir Jumla, who sought and secured imperial protection with the help of Aurangzeb.

Mir Muhammad Sayyid, better known as Mir Jumla, came from Ardistan. Following the example of many other adventurers, he came to India as the servant of a jewel-merchant and accumulated a vast fortune by his deals in diamond and precious stones. By virtue of his uncommon talents he soon attracted the attention of Abdulla Qutb Shah, who took him into his service. Being endowed with great industry, military genius and administrative abilities, he rapidly gained his master's favour and became the chief minister and the virtual ruler of Golkunda. He conquered the Karnatak, which the Mughals had hitherto failed to take, by defeating the Raja of Chandragiri (representing the earlier Vijayanagar Empire). The Cuddapa district, Sidhout, east of Cuddapa, the rock-fortress of Gandikota were also captured by him. He acquired a dominion of three hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth, yielding an annual revenue of forty lakhs, and possessing several diamond mines. He amassed more wealth by plundering the old temples of the South and by working the diamond mines of Golkunda. He maintained under his own absolute command an army of 5,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, besides 4,000 troops of Golkunda, whose captains had been seduced by him. In addition to these, he had many trained elephants and an excellent park of artillery. Thus, as it has been remarked by one historian, "though Mir Jumla's rank was that of a noble, he possessed the power, wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince."[146]

No ruler of a country can tolerate the rise of such an over-powerful minister ; instances are not rare when such ministers have seized the throne for themselves after deposing their masters. It was therefore natural that the Sultan of Golkunda became greatly alarmed at the growing power and wealth of Mir Jumla. His enemies at the court excited the Sultan's wrath against him, and the Sultan settled with some of his courtiers to seize and blind him. But Mir Jumla came to know of this plot and escaped to the Karnatak whence he did not come to visit his master in spite of repeated summons from the latter. Mir Jumla entered into intrigues with the Sultan of Bijapur and the Shah of Peria invoking their assistance in his distress. Aurangzeb with his eagerness for the conquest of Golkunda thought that the discontented minister would prove a valuable helping hand for the realisation of his designs if he could be won over to his side. He tried to effect this by promising imperial favours and help to Mir Jumla. Matters came to a head with the arrest of Mir Jumla's son Muhammad Amin Khan with his family for his insolent behaviour towards the Sultan (21st November, 1655).

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[146] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

This supplied Aurangzeb with a pretext for war against the Sultan. He reported these matters to Shahjahan and solicited his permission for attacking Golkunda. Shahjahan sent a letter to the Qutb Shah bidding him release Mir Jumla's family, and " he rather reluctantly sanctioned the invasion of Golkunda in case Muhammad Amin was still detained."[147] Without giving the Qutb Shah time to consider and reply to the Emperor's letter, Aurangzeb, determined to destroy him,[148] sent a large army against him under his son Muhammad Sultan in January, 1656.

On entering Hyderabad the Mughal troops plundered the city and confiscated much wealth and costly goods.[149] The unworthy efforts of the foolish Sultan of Golkunda to pacify the Mughals through costly presents having naturally failed to save his kingdom from Mughal onslaughts, he opened negotiations with the Sultan of Bijapur with a view to securing his help against the invaders.

But Aurangzeb arrived with the bulk of his army on the 6th February and next day besieged Golkunda. The fertility and wealth of the kingdom excited his cupidity so much that he " coveted the whole kingdom and nothing less " and tried to obtain his father's permission for its complete annexation. But Shahjahan adopted a more accommodating attitude. Being influenced by the recommendations of Dara and Jahanara, who sometimes managed to keep his religious bigotry in check by their liberalism and friendliness towards the Hindus, the Shias, the Sufis and the like, he ordered raising the siege of Golkunda and leaving the occupied territory at once, against Aurangzeb's wishes.

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[147] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[148] This is clear from his instructions to Muhammad Sultan quoted in *ibid.*, p. 206.

[149] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Aurangzeb had to comply, and raised the siege on 30th March, 1656. A peace was immediately concluded with the Sultan of Golkunda. Four days after, Prince Muhammad (aged nineteen) was married by proxy to the Sultan's daughter and on the 10th of April, the bride was brought to her husband's camp. The Sultan swore on the Quran to obey the Emperor and received from him in return a letter of pardon and rich robes of honour. At the request of the queen-mother of Golkunda and the ladies of his own harem, Aurangzeb remitted ten lakhs out of twenty-five lakhs of indemnity money promised by the Sultan, and after two months a further reduction was made by Shahjahan. But the Sultan had to cede the district of Rangir (modern Manikdrug and Chinoor) and he promised Aurangzeb secretly to make his son-in-law Prince Muhammad his heir. Mir Jumla was taken into Mughal imperial service, made a commander of 6,000 and appointed prime-minister in place of Sadullah Khan, who had died recently.

The conquest of Bijapur next engaged the attention of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Adil Shah, the capable ruler of Bijapur, died on 4th November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son, who was then a youth of eighteen years. The accession of this young prince gave birth to internal disorders within the kingdom, which afforded a suitable opportunity to Aurangzeb for the gratification of his ambition. He solicited Shahjahan's permission for invading the kingdom on the ground that the new king was not the son of the dead ruler but a boy "settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit." The of obscure origin. The latter granted him full powers to Mughal army in the Deccan was reinforced by a fresh levy of

20,000 troopers and Mir Jumla was ordered to join Aurangzeb. Shahjahan suggested merely the invasion of Bijapur but Aurangzeb was bent upon annexing the whole of it if possible, and wrote to Mir Jumla asking for his personal assistance in the matter as soon as possible.

Bijapur thus became a victim to Aurangzeb's unjust and aggressive imperialism without any fault of her own. Sir J. N. Sarkar has rightly remarked that " the war thus sanctioned was wholly unrighteous. Bijapur was not a vassal state, but an independent and equal ally of the Mughal Emperor, and the latter had no lawful right to confirm or question the succession at Bijapur. The true reason of the Mughal interference was the helplessness of its boy-king and the discord among his officers, which presented a fine ' opportunity ' for annexation, as Aurangzeb expressed it."[150]

Aided by Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb captured Bidar[151] in March and Kalyani, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas situated forty miles west of Bidar, in August, 1657. With Bidar and Kalyani in Mughal hands the way for their attack on Bijapur itself lay open, when Shahjahan sent an order for the cessation of hostilities. The agents of the Sultan at Court, and Dara, whose jealousy increased at his rival's success, brought about this change in the Emperor's mind. His intervention checked Mughal aggressiveness in the Deccan, and a peace was concluded (1657) with the Bijapur Sultan by which he surrendered Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda, and agreed to pay an indemnity of one and a half crores of rupees,—from which Shahjahan subsequently remitted half a crore. Aurangzeb was ordered to return with his army to Bidar, and the officers, who had come to the Deccan from Malwa and other parts of Hindustan, were recalled to their respective posts.

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[150] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[151] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 242. The principality of Bidar had been annexed by Bijapur in 1609.

The disorders following the illness of Shahjahan, and the war or succession among his sons, withdrew the attention of Mughal princes and officers to other theatres of action and saved the Deccan for some time from the onrush of the Mughal advance. Even after Aurangzeb was secure on his throne, for about twenty-two years he remained busy in the North and North-West with various civil and military affairs.[152] Mughal armies were not completely withdrawn from the Deccan borders ; but they achieved no decisive results against the Sultanates or the Marathas. Thus Shaista Khan's plan of backing up Bijapur against the rising Shivaji failed disastrously ; Muazzam and Jai Singh could not prevent Shivaji from plundering the richest imperial port, Surat, and though through friendship, persuasion and some successes Jai Singh could send Shivaji to Agra, the whole scheme failed,—while Jai Singh's Bijapur campaign came to nothing ; after him Jaswant Singh and Muazzam accepted large bribes from Shivaji and put off effective operations against him, and even persuaded Aurangzeb to grant him the status of a ' Raja,' three years after which came the first imposition of the Maratha *Chauth* on a Mughal province (Khandesh). For about a quarter of a century, therefore, the Deccan Sultanates were free to heal as best as they could the wounds of war ; but their recovery was only very partial, owing to the rapid growth of the Maratha State at their expense and to the growing depravity and corruption amongst their princes and officials. Golkunda particularly could now be " hardly counted in the politics of the Deccan."

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[152] E.G., Famine of 1660-61 and remission of about eighty taxes; Assam War, 1661—63; Arakan War, 1664—66; Aurangzeb's illness and Kashmir visit, 1664; Sivaji's visit to Agra, 1665-66; first Jat rebellion, 1669-70; Afghan tribal troubles, 1672—78; Sikh persecution, 1675; destruction of temples in Sindh, Multan, Benares and Mathura, 1669-70; Reimposition of Jiziya, 1679; Rajput War, from 1678, with Mewar till 1681; Rajputana temple destruction, 1679-80; Revolt of Prince Akbar, 1681.

This further weakening of the two Sultanates and the unchecked growth of the Maratha power created a new political situation in the South, and a serious menace, a challenge, to Mughal authority and imperialism.[153] The help which the rebel prince Akbar (deprived of Rajput support by his father's cunning) received from Shivaji's successor Shambhuji, appeared as a great danger to the Mughal Empire, and it convinced Aurangzeb of the necessity of his personal presence in the Deccan. But for this alliance between the "Disturber of India" and the "infernal son of the infernal infidel," as Aurangzeb called these two, he would have allowed the Deccan affairs to follow their own course for the time being, his hands being too full with the Northern affairs. But it became impossible for him to wait any longer and let the new danger grow, and so after hurriedly patching up a piece with the Rajputs (June 1681) he left Ajmere for the Deccan on 8th September, 1681, arriving at Burhanpur two months after, and at Ahmadnagar on 13th November, 1682, full of ambitious hopes, little knowing he had come to bury his empire and himself. Four years were spent in fruitless attempts to capture Prince Akbar and in disastrous operations against the Marathas, though several forts were captured. Unsuccessful in his attempts to suppress the new-born power of the Marathas, Aurangzeb turned his attention to the easier conquest of the two decayed Sultanates. In launching his vigorous campaigns of 1685—87 against them he was prompted, as in the case of Shahjahan and as in his earlier career in the Deccan, by lust of conquest combined with religious hatred towards the Shiahs, who were according to him 'misbelievers' and 'corpse-eating demons.' Muazzam was sent against Golkunda in 1685; but he had a soft corner in his heart for the Deccan Sultanates and considered their complete destruction, as planned by his father, a bad policy. So he came to terms with Golkunda, which Aurangzeb temporarily accepted, while he resolved to teach his son a lesson later on.

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[153] *Aurangzeb,* Vol. IV, p. 4.

Ruh-ulla Khan and Khaṇ-i-Jahan Bahadur were commissioned to begin the siege of Bijapur towards the end of March 1685, and Aurangzeb himself went to Sholapur on 24th May to be present near the scene of operations. At the outset the situation of the Mughals was not very hopeful : the Adil Shah's pathetic appeal to the Sultan of Golkunda and Shambhuji received a favourable response ; and the outbreak of a terrible famine and the consequent scarcity of provisions[154] greatly alarmed Aurangzeb, who ordered his son Azam to retire with his army from the Bijapur area. But Azam who wanted to win his father's favour now that Muazzam was in disfavour, remained firm, and inspired his officers by his conduct. Much pleased by this report, Aurangzeb sent him reinforcements when the siege had dragged on for fifteen months, and he himself proceeded to Rasulpur, a suburb west of the Bijapur fort. Before the personal presence of the dreaded Aurangzeb, the firm determination of his army leaders, and the thoroughness of his siege preparations, the Bijapuris lost heart, and scarcity of provisions made it impossible for them to hold out any longer ; they capitulated on 12th September, 1686. Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahis, surrendered to the Emperor. The dynasty founded by the brilliant Yusuf Adil Shah two centuries ago came to an inglorious end, and Bijapur ceased to be an independent kingdom, being annexed to the Mughal Empire. Sikandar was reduced to the status of a Mughal peer with the title of Khan and a pension of one lakh of rupees a year. He was lodged in the state-prison of Daulaṭabad, where he "sighed out many years of his life in the company of a brother in misery, Abul Hassan, the deposed Sultan of Golkunda," till he died on 23rd April, 1700.

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[154] "Grain sold at Rs. 15 a seer, and that too in small quantities." Quoted in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 316.

With the loss of independence, Bijapur became a ruined and desolate city. Her wealth, culture and splendid art vanished with surprising rapidity under acts of vandalism and her citizens became subject to heavy extortions at the hands of the Mughal governors. " A few years later," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Bhimsen noticed how the city and its equally large suburb Nauraspur looked deserted and ruined ; the population was scattered, and even the abundant water-supply in the city wells had suddenly grown scanty."[155]

Aurangzeb was now free to deal with Golkunda. Abul Hasan, the successor of Abdulla Qutb Shah, was a pleasure-loving debauchee, who left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of his Brahman ministers Madanna and his brother Akanna. " This fraternising with infidels " was his worst offence in the eyes of Aurangzeb, who has himself described the *casus belli* in a letter to his envoy at the Golkunda court : " This luckless wretch (Abul Hasan Qutb Shah) has given the supreme power in his state to a *Kafir* and made Sayyid, Shaikhs, and scholars subject to that man. He has publicly allowed (in his realm) all kinds of sin and vice, *viz.*, taverns, brothels and gambling houses. He himself is day and night sunk in the deadly sins through his excessive devotion to drink, and fails to distinguish between Islam and infidelity, justice and oppression, sin and piety. By refusing to respect God's commands and prohibitions, by sending aid to infidel powers, and by promising one lakh of *huns* to the Kafir Shambhuji, he has made himself accursed before God and man."[156] Moreover, the Sultan of Golkunda had not observed the terms of the treaty of 1656 ; the war-indemnity promised therein was not paid and the annual tribute of two lakhs of *huns* was always in arrears. He had also kept in his own hands the extensive dominion carved out in the Karnatak by Mir Jumla[157] and had actively helped the Bijapur Sultan against the Mughals recently.

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[155] *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 327.

[156] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 341, from Khafi Khan.

Towards the end of January 1687, Aurangzeb himself marched to Golkunda, and ordered the siege of the fortress. The siege was continued for about eight months, and the Mughals tried every possible means, mines, bombardments and escalades, but could achieve no success. Famine and pestilence greatly harassed the besiegers and they also suffered heavy losses from enemy attacks. When valour and arms failed, Aurangzeb, like Akbar before Asirgarh, tried "the golden key;" the seduction and treachery of one of Abul Hasan's officers named Abdullah Pani, an Afghan soldier of fortune, enabled the Mughals to capture Golkunda easily. Thus on 21st September (1687) the eight months' siege ended "not in a glorious victory of arms, but in a shameful capture through bribery."[158] But there was one faithful officer in Golkunda, Abdur Razzaq Lari surnamed Mustafa Khan, who scornfully refused to accept bribes from the Mughals and fought bravely to the last till he fell on the field of battle with seventy wounds. He was brought back to life through the care and treatment of two physicians, one a European and the other a Hindu, who had been employed by Aurangzeb to attend the hero of Golkunda. About a year later he accepted much against his will a *mansab* under the empire. After being beaten before Aurangzeb to force him to reveal his treasures, Abul Hasan was sent a captive to the fort of Daulatabad to spend his days in sorrow on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and Golkunda was annexed to the empire. The Mughals obtained a rich booty amounting to nearly seven crores of rupees in cash besides gold and silver plates, jewels and jewelled ware.

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[157] When he was minister of Golkunda; but though he had soon after become a Mughal official, he was at this time (1687) dead twenty-four years ago.

[158] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 362.

Historians like Elphinstone, Smith[159] and some others have charged Aurangzeb with political short-sightedness for his destroying the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, which, according to them, might have helped him in crushing the Marathas. But it should be noted that a sincere alliance between them and their aggressors, the Mughals was out of the question. Since Akbar had crossed the Vindhyas, the Deccan Sultanates could never forget that " the sleepless aim of the Mughal Emperors was their final extinction and annexation of all their territories."[160] Further the Marathas had already formed a progressive national state (1674—80) and it would have been impossible for the decadent Muslim kingdoms to offer any substantial check to them.

Two years after the fall of Bijapur, Shambhuji, the brave but licentious Maratha king, was captured in discreditable circumstances along with his Brahman minister Kalusha, and was executed on 11th March, 1689 (with his minister and a dozen other followers), after suffering prolonged and cruel tortures inflicted under the personal direction of Aurangzeb. The Mughals then took possession of his capital Raigarh. His brother Raja Ram escaped to Jinji fort in the Karnatic in the disguise of a mendicant, but nearly the whole of his and Shambhuji's family was captured, with Shambhuji's seven-year-old son Shivaji, commonly known as Shahu, who was given the rank of a mansabdar of 7,000 and was kept as a state prisoner in the imperial camp where he was brought up with care in

[159] *Oxford History*, p. 443.

[160] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 5.

the Mughal princely way.[161] This success was followed up two years later by the levying of tribute on Tanjore and Trichinopoly, further south Hindu states allied with the Marathas.

Thus by 1691 Aurangzeb reached the zenith of his power as the paramount ruler of Northern India as also of the Peninsula. "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now ; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be used by one man or from one centre . . . . His enemies rose on all sides ; he could defeat but not crush them for ever . . . . Lawlessness reigned in many places of Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far-off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustan, and the administration grew slack and corrupt ; chiefs and zamindars defied the local authorities and asserted themselves, filling the country with tumult. In the province of Agra in particular, there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of Imperial patronage ; not a single grand edifice, finely written manuscript, or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzeb's reign. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury ; the government turned bankrupt, the soldiers, starving from arrears of pay, mutinied ; and during the closing years of his reign the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the able *diwan*, Murshid Quli Khan, was the sole support of the Emperor's household and army, and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me.' The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb."[162] Thus was the destructive work of Mughal imperialism in the Peninsula paid back in its own coin.

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[161] This captivity and training of Shahu produced later on important results in Maratha history.

[162] Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 50-51.

SECTION V

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MUGHALS AND THE MARATHAS

The Marathas proved to be the most formidable foes of the Mughal Empire and they played an important part in the modern history of India for two centuries and more. The scattered fragments of the Maratha race were organised and consolidated into a national state by Shivaji. But the Maratha Swarajya of the seventeenth century was not an isolated phenomenon in Indian history. Though apparently organised by the daring and genius of Shivaji, it was really the product of the special geographical situation of the Maratha country and of the religious revival that had been inspiring the people with new hopes and ideals throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It might be regarded as the counterpart or the rebirth of the Vijayanagar Empire just as the latter was of the Yadava and Hoysala kingdoms, and it marked the culmination of the force of Hindu revival, which had started centuries ago (first half of fourteenth century) and had been silently but steadily working on the minds of the people all over the country though with varying intensity.

The Maratha country was provided with natural defences nearly on all sides. The Vindhya and the Satpura ranges and the Narmada and the Tapti rivers stood as double lines of ramparts and moats against invasions from Northern and Central India, while on the west it was protected by the ocean and the parallel Western Ghats (or the Sahyadri range), which formed a high and rugged wall along the entire western edge of the Peninsula. Thus " almost locked among the hills and open only in the east," the Maratha country " could not be annexed or conquered by one cavalry dash or even one year's campaigning." The numerous broken ranges of hills provided the Marathas with 'ready-made and easily defensible rock-forts,' from which they could successfully defy or repel the attacks of invaders. The sterile soil, the scanty rainfall, and the poor agricultural resources of the Maratha land, forced on them a life of strenuous activity and a Spartan hardihood giving them no opportunities for indulging in luxury, ease and sordid pleasures. Nature compelled them to develop " self-reliance, courage, perseverance, a stern simplicity, a rough straightforwardness, a sense of social equality and consequently pride in the dignity of man as man."[163] Social distinctions among them were few, and, being free from feminine seclusion (*purdah*), their women added to the strength and patriotism of the men.[164]

A renaissance (self-awakening) must precede great political changes in a country. The seeds of such a new life had been sown in the land of the Marathas even before the Mughals appeared in India, and the preachings of a number of religious reformers through successive centuries had fostered a sense of equality among them and inspired them with noble religious and patriotic ideals. Ekanath, Tukaram, Ramdas and Vaman Pandit,—all preached the *Bhakti* cult and the doctrine of equality of mankind before God. Among them Ramdas Samarth, who was looked upon by Shivaji as his *Guru*, created a tremendous stir in the minds of his countrymen. He worked with batches of disciples in his *maths* (monasteries) for the social reform and national regeneration of his motherland. His intense patriotism is revealed in his writings like the *Dasabodha*, wherein he taught the philosophy of action (*Karma*) and urged his disciples to strive hard for working up to the ideals he set before them and for carrying the message throughout the land.[165] Mr. Ranade thus writes of this reformation movement in Maharashtra: "Like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century there was a religious, social and literary revival and reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The religious revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy; it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of a pure heart, and the law of love, to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society,—tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers, and even scavengers more often than Brahmans."[166]

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[163] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 10.

[164] Though degenerated to some extent in course of centuries, the basic elements of Maratha character have remained the same.

[165] Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History* (1933 Edn.), pp. 64—68.

Besides the reformed religion, literature and language furnished another bond of union among the various sections of the community. The religious songs of the popular reformers like Tukaram, Ramdas, Vaman Pandit and Moro Pant gave inspiration to every son of Maharashtra acquainted with Marathi letters, and the popularity and love of the mother-tongue, thus enriched by simple poetry and forceful thought, were increased. "Thus, a remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in Maharashtra in the seventeenth century even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji. What little was wanting to the solidarity of the people was supplied by his creation of a national state, the long struggle with the invader from Delhi under his sons, and the imperial expansion of the race under the Peshwas. Thus in the end a tribe,—or rather a collection of tribes and castes,—was fused into a *nation*, and by the end of the eighteenth century a Maratha people in the political and cultural senses of the term had been formed, though caste distinctions still remained. Thus history has moulded society."[167]

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[166] *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 10.

But it was not for the first time that the people of Maharashtra rode on the crest of a political and cultural wave. Leaving out ancient history, even in the middle ages, their ancestors had twice built up the Rastrakuta power against Northern Rajput dominion, and maintained Hindu traditions under the Yadavas of Deogiri while the rest of India was being flooded by the onrush of foreign conquest.

The Marathas then lost their independence and ceased to exist as a nation ever since the overthrow of the Yadava Ramdev by Alauddin. But in another forty years they began to play an important part in the administration of the Bahmani Kingdom and then in that of the five states into which this kingdom afterwards broke up. They found special opportunities for active service in the states of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, which together formed the greater part of Maharashtra. Shahji, the father of the celebrated Shivaji, began his career as a general and a *jagirdar* in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He distinguished himself in the wars that Ahmadnagar had to wage against the Mughals and played the rôle of a king-maker during the closing years of the Nizam Shahi dynasty. But owing to jealousy of his rivals and court intrigues against him[168] Shahji transferred his services to the Bijapur Kingdom in 1636 and there also he achieved the same distinction. Besides his old *jagir* of Poona and Supa, he received from his new master a grant of the whole country from Chakan to Indapur and Shirwal as his *jagir*.

Shivaji was born in the hill-fort of Shivner either in 1627 according to the historians of the older school or in February

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[167] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 17-18.

[168] "The Rise of the Maratha Power," by Dr. Aiyanger, *Journal of Indian History*, 1930, pp. 173—217.

1630 as their modern opponents assert.[169] As Shahji removed to his new *jagir* with his second wife Tuka Bai Mohite, Shivaji and his mother Jija Bai were left in the old *jagir* under the care and guardianship of a Brahman named Dadaji Konddev. Thus like Sher Shah, Shivaji was " practically a stranger to his father for several years after his birth."[170] Neglected by her husband, Jija Bai, who was a woman of uncommon talents and religious turn of mind, trained her child in high ideals and inspired him with the tales of heroism and chivalry of past ages. As in the case of some other great men, the seeds of greatness were sown in Shivaji's mind by his mother. Besides this, Dadaji Konddev also exerted a powerful influence on his character. Like Hyder Ali, and Ranjit Singh, Shivaji had no formal literary education, but his memory was full of the contents of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and his mind was impressed with the knowledge and wisdom contained in the classical or contemporary religious literature. He was thus well acquainted with the arts of peace and war and grew to be a bold and adventurous soldier living and working in a dreamland of patriotic achievements and gathering round him a band of youngmen of similar temperament and outlook. " There seems to be little doubt," remarks Mr. Rawlinson, " that his career was inspired by a real desire to free his country from what he considered to be a foreign tyranny, and not by a mere love of plunder."[171] Through his mother he claimed descent from the Yadavas of Deogiri (once the rulers of Maharashtra) and on his father's side he was descended from the heroic Sisodias of Mewar. Sentiment alone was enough to urge him to revive the lost glories of the Hindus and " to protect the Brahman and the cow " (as the orthodox slogan puts it) from the attacks of the Mughal persecutors. His early training and environment implanted in his mind a love of independence and in spite of some opposition from Dadaji Konddev who suggested to him the advisability of rising to prominence by serving the Bijapur State like his ancestors, he fixed his choice upon a career of adventure and enterprise. " A career of independence was no doubt risky to Shivaji, but it had undreamt-of advantages to compensate for the risk, if only he could succeed."[172] He disclaimed to serve in the decadent Bijapur State, then distracted by intrigue, bloodshed and foreign wars.

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[169] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 23. *Journal of Indian History*, 1927, pp. 177—197.

[170] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 25.

[171] *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 30.

Through the help of Dadaji Shivaji secured the attachment of the hillmen of the Maval country running along the Western Ghats for a length of ninety miles and a breadth of twelve to fourteen miles. Their alliance was of great value to him, because through them he became acquainted with the country and they supplied him with " his best soldiers, his earliest comrades, and his most devoted commanders."[173] His first exploit was the capture (1646) of the fortress of Torna, twenty miles south-west of Poona, which was followed by the building of a new fort named Rajgarh, five miles east of Torna. The illness of the Sultan of Bijapur and the consequent disorder prevailing in his kingdom encouraged him to extend the range of his activities. The death or Dadaji early in 1647 left him free to pursue his ambitious designs and he soon strengthened his hold over all parts of Shahji's western *jagir*. The fort of Chakan and the outposts of Baramati and Indapur passed under his control, and he seized the forts of Sinhagad, Kondana and Purandarpur by bribery, force or trick. Thus his possessions were now secured by a long chain of hill-forts on the south. Shivaji next entered into Konkan and established his authority over the northern part of it (the present districts of Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri), then under the control of a Muhammadan governor at Bijapur named Mulla Ahmad.

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[172] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 35.

[173] *Ibid.*, p. 33. The Mavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were probably the same people as the Mavellas noted in the Epic-Puranic literature as a fighting race of Central and South-West India, often recruited by other powers.

The increasing activities of Shivaji at last opened the eyes of the Sultan of Bijapur. About this time his father was arrested by the Bijapuri commander-in-chief, Mustafa Khan, for displaying a spirit of insubordination during the siege of Jinji, and for his attempt to enter Qutb Shah's service, which was an act of treason against Bijapur. Shahji was released on condition of the good behaviour of his son. For the time being therefore Shivaji did not engage in offensive operations against the Sultan of Bijapur, but devoted himself to the strengthening of his acquisitions and in making preparations for a fresh struggle with his enemies in the Deccan. He however thought himself free to annex the Maratha principality of Javli, then held by a semi-independent chieftain named Chandra Rao More ; the conquest became easy after Chandra Rao was treacherously murdered by an agent of Shivaji at his instigation. Javli opened a door for Shivaji's progress into the South and the West and greatly added to his strength and resources ; many Mavle infantrymen formerly in the employ of Chandra Rao now joined him, and the vast wealth of the Mores fell into his hands. He constructed a new fort named Pratapgarh,[174] two miles west of Javli, while the eastern half of Ratnagiri also came under his control.

The Mughals and the Bijapuris were equally in Shivaji's way; but he did not think it proper to quarrel with both at the same time, and so for several years courted Mughal alliance. When after the death of Ali Adil Shah II on 4th November,

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[174] Here he set up an image of his patron goddess Bhavani.

1656, Aurangzeb (then Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan) invaded Bijapur, Shivaji opened negotiations with him for Imperial protection and Aurangzeb also wrote to him in assuring terms. "Each was equally desirous of playing the other off against their common enemy, Bijapur, but the negotiations bore no fruit for want of mutual confidence." Shivaji then raided Mughal territory as far as Junnar and Ahmadnagar, the former being captured with three lakhs of treasure. But when the Sultan of Bijapur concluded peace with Aurangzeb, Shivaji thought it useless to fight singlehanded with the Mughal Empire at that time. So he sought peace and pardon from the Mughals which were not granted by Aurangzeb, who however had soon to proceed to the North on hearing of his father's illness.

Being thus freed from further Mughal pressure, the Bijapur government thought of taking serious measures against Shivaji and of doing away with him once for all. Shahji was first asked to check his son's hostile activities, but he expressed his inability to bring him under his control. Recourse was therefore taken to force for suppressing Shivaji. Early in 1659 Afzal Khan, a noble of high rank and an experienced general, was sent with a large force. The dowager-queen of Bijapur "counselled him to pretend friendship" with Shivaji for effecting his capture or murder. Within a fortnight Afzal reached Wai, twenty miles north of Satara. Failing to bring Shivaji out of his stronghold of Pratapgarh even by some provocations, Afzal Khan opened negotiations with him through a Maratha Brahman, Krishnaji Bhaskar, and invited him to a meeting.

Unmoved by the touching offers of the Bijapur general Shivaji decided to meet him boldly[175] and began to prepare himself for it. But for the time being he received Afzal's envoy Krishnaji Bhaskar with respect and elicited from him the real intentions of Afzal. He learnt from him and from his own agent to Afzal, named Gopinath, that the Bijapur general "had so arranged matters that Shiva would be arrested at the interview, as he was too cunning to be caught by open fight." Afzal and Shivaji met, very slightly attended, in a conference, when the sturdy and stalwart Muslim general embraced the short slim Maratha and holding his neck firm within his left arm thrust his dagger at Shivaji, who however escaped injury being protected by hidden armour. The trick exposed, Shivaji forthwith tore Afzal's bowels with his *baghnakh* (gloves of steel-claws). Thus the Bijapuri general lost his life, his troops were scattered and butchered and his baggage and artillery train were captured.

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[175] According to a legend he got an inspiration from the goddess Bhavani to do so. Vide Dr. S. N. Sen's *Life of Siva Chatrapati*, p. 184.

Authorities are divided in their opinions as to whether the murder of Afzal was an act of treachery on the part of Shivaji or not. Khafi Khan[176] lays the entire blame upon Shivaji, and his view has been accepted by some European writers. But the Marathas to whom the "fight with Afzal has always appeared as at once a war of national liberation and a crusade against the desecration of their temples," have justified the murder as an act of self-defence. The contemporary English factory records support the contention of the Maratha writers. As we have already seen, it was Afzal who had been asked by his sovereign to capture Shivaji treacherously by feigning friendship, and when the latter came to know definitely from agents of both sides that the Muslim general meant treachery, he thought it necessary to take with him some means of defence at the conference. It is also clear from circumstantial evidences that Afzal was first to attack and Shivaji could not very well practise non-violence or chivalry before an enemy who was determined to take his life by any means.

After the murder of Afzal, Shivaji's *jagirs* were invaded by a Bijapur army, and he got over this danger with some difficulty (1660). But soon he was faced with another. Shaista Khan, the new governor of the Deccan, was now entrusted by Aurangzeb with the task of suppressing the upstart Shivaji who had dared to lead a Hindu crusade. The Mughals occupied Puna, captured the fort of Chakan and after two years' desultory fighting (1661—63) established their control over North Konkan including the district of Kalyan. But within a month of meeting with these reverses, Shivaji struck a decisive blow at the Mughals by a stratagem. On one Ramzan night (1663) when the retainers of Shaista Khan's household at Poona had fallen fast asleep, Shivaji entered his apartments with some of his followers, " surprised and wounded the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-chamber, within the inner ring of his body-guards and female slaves,"[177] slew his son Abul Fath, about forty of his attendants and six of his wives and slave-girls, and went away to the neighbouring stronghold of Singhagarh. Out of shame and grief Shaista Khan retired to Aurangabad, but he was soon transferred to the easier government of Bengal by the Emperor, who ascribed the disaster in the Deccan to the viceroy's negligence and inability. He left the Deccan about the middle of January 1664 after handing over the charge of his office to his successor Prince Muazzam.

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[176] Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 259.

The success of the night attack immensely increased the prestige of Shivaji. Early in January 1664, he sacked Surat, the richest port on the west, plundered the city with ruthless vengeance, gathered a booty amounting to more than one crore of rupees and " scorned to carry away anything but gold, silver, pearls, diamonds and such precious ware." The local English and the Dutch Factors somehow managed to defend themselves.

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[177] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 98.

These repeated reverses greatly impaired imperial prestigé and early in 1665 Aurangzeb sent Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan with 14,000 troopers to the Deccan. Jai Singh reached Poona on the 3rd March, 1665. He had gained considerable experience by serving in imperial campaigns in different parts of the empire, and age had given him soberness and foresight. But the task before him was very great. The Deccan " had been the grave of many a reputation, and he had the failures of his predecessors before him." There was also every chance that the arrival of a strong Mughal force in the Deccan might lead to a combination between the Deccan Sultanates and the Marathas. So he proceeded with cautious steps and tried to combine against Shivaji all his enemies and to harass him by directing attacks from all possible quarters. Above all he " concentrated all authority in his own hands, as an indispensable condition of success in war." His troops entered the Maratha country without much opposition and besieged the fort of Purandar. It fell after a heroic defence by the 'Prabhu' commander, Musar Baji Deshpande of Mahad, who was killed in action with his 300 Mavles. Even Rajgarh, the centre of Shivaji's influence, was blockaded by the Mughals. Shivaji was therefore compelled to sue for peace, and the treaty of Purandar was concluded (June 1665) whereby Shivaji surrendered twenty-three of his forts and retained twelve for himself. It was arranged that his son Shambhuji was to be created a *Panjhazari Mansabdar* of the empire with a suitable *jagir,* while he himself was to be exempted from attendance at the Emperor's court like other nobles and Rajas ; but he promised to render military aid to the Emperor's wars in the Deccan. By another clause Shivaji agreed to pay forty lakhs of huns to the Emperor in thirteen annual instalments if his possession of certain lands yielding four lakhs of *huns* a year in the Konkan and five lakhs of *huns* a year in the Balaq was confirmed. It was expected that he would occupy those lands from the Bijapuri officers with his own soldiers. Lastly, Shivaji agreed to help the Mughals in their invasion of Bijapur. Jai Singh regarded this agreement as a great diplomatic triumph. Shivaji received imperial honours and presents and joined the Mughals with his own contingents in their war against Bijapur. The Bijapur campaign proved unsuccessful, but in order to prevent Shivaji from going over to the enemies of the Mughals, Jai Singh "plied him with high hopes and 'used a thousand devices' and persuaded him to visit the imperial court."

As to the considerations which led Shivaji to visit the imperial court, Mr. Sardesai says that he agreed to it because he wanted to have a personal knowledge of the Emperor, his court and the sources of his strength, in order to form rightly his future plans of operations against him.[178] But Sir J. N. Sarkar points out that Jai Singh had to secure his consent to his proposal by holding out high hopes of reward and honour and by taking solemn oaths along with his son Kunwar Ramsingh that they would be responsible for his safety at the imperial capital. Shivaji knew the risks of his visit to the imperial court and it is difficult to believe that he would have volunteered to undertake it. Most probably the latter opinion brings out the truth of the matter. Shivaji hoped to utilise the personal interview with the Emperor by requesting him to cede the island of Jangira, then held by the Siddi, an imperial servant. In accordance with contemporary practice, Shivaji consulted the soothsayers who assured him of a safe return, and the majority of his ministers were also in favour of this venture.

Shivaji along with his son Shambhuji reached Agra on the 9th of May, 1666, and was three days later admitted into the Hall of Public Audience. Being accorded a cold reception by Aurangzeb, he felt humiliated and swooned in great excitement.

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[178] *Main Currents of Maratha* History, p. 74.

On his restoration to senses, Shivaji charged the Emperor with breach of faith. When the Emperor's men informed him of this, he placed him under guard. " Thus Shivaji's high hopes were dashed to pieces and he found himself a prisoner instead."[179]

An ordinary man would have given way to despair under such circumstances. Gifted with an unusual resourcefulness, Shivaji began to devise plans for his escape. He feigned illness and continued to send basketfuls of sweets out of his house every evening for distribution among the Brahmans, religious mendicants and courtiers by way of pious gifts. These baskets were searched by the guards for some days and afterwards allowed to pass unexamined. One evening he and his son concealed themselves in two such baskets and passed out of Agra unnoticed by anybody to a village six miles from Agra, where his chief justice Niraji Ravi had arrived and was waiting for them with horses. They galloped away to Mathura, where he left his son Shambhuji, who was worn out by fatigue, under the care of a Maratha Brahman. Then shaving off his beard and moustaches and besmearing himself with ashes, Shivaji proceeded in the disguise of a sannyasi through Allahabad, Benares, Gaya, Puri, the Gondwana country, the territory of Bijapur and Golkunda and reached home towards the end of December 1666. His return was hailed with great rejoicings in Maharashtra. " It was a national deliverance, as providential, as it was romantic." But for it, all the hopes of the Marathas would have been blighted for ever. It caused much heart-burning to Aurangzeb, who suspecting Ram Singh of conniving at Shivaji's escape, recalled Jai Singh from the Deccan (in May 1667). Prince Muazzam was reappointed in the place of Jai Singh, with Jaswant Singh as the second in command. Jai Singh died (or was poisoned, according to some accounts) on his way to the North, at Burhanpur, on 2nd July, 1667.

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[179] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 177.

Returning home after his adventures, Shivaji concluded Peace with the Mughals, who were then not in a position to molest him because of the Afghan risings in the North-West, "which taxed the imperial strength for more than a year." Shivaji also wanted peace for reorganising and consolidating his own government. Prince Muazzam and Raja Jaswant Singh persuaded the Emperor to recognise Shivaji's title of Rajah ; his son Shambhuji was created a *Panjhazari* noble and received *jagirs* in Berar.

But neither Shivaji nor Aurangzeb was sincere in his attachment. Both wanted time to prepare themselves for a fresh struggle, and the rupture was precipitated by Aurangzeb's policy of retrenchment in the Deccan military service, which threw a part of his soldiery over to the side of Shivaji, and by his order of attachment of a part of Shivaji's new *jagir* in Berar for recovering the amount which had been advanced to him for his journey to the imperial court. War was renewed in January 1670. The position of the Mughals became weaker than before owing to internal dissensions among their generals. The Marathas captured the forts of Kondana, Purandar, Mahuli, and Nander, and drove out the Mughal *Faujdar* from the Konkan. In October 1670, Shivaji attacked Surat for the second time, ransacked houses and shops except those of the European factors, and carried off a booty worth sixty-six lakhs of rupees. In 1672 the Marathas demanded the *chauth* from Surat and in the wars from 1670 to 1674 they achieved continued success. The "Mughal power in the Deccan was crippled" and being occupied with the Afghan rising in the North-West Frontier, Aurangzeb recalled Dilir Khan to that quarter leaving Deccan affairs to shape themselves for the time being. In order to legalise his position in the eyes of others, Shivaji now had himself formally crowned at Raigarh with great pomp

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and splendour in June 1674. He assumed the title of *Chhatrapati* (' Lord of the Umbrella or Emperor ') and *Go-Brahmana Pratipalaka* (' Protector of Cows and Brahmans or Defender of the Orthodox Hindu Faith ').[180] This coronation ceremony was highly significant. It marked the triumphant establishment of an aggressive *Hindu Swaraj* in the teeth of an aggressive Mughal imperialism.

The formal establishment of this new monarchy entailed enormus expenses (about fifty lakhs of rupees) and exhausted Shivaji's reserves in such a way that it now became necessary for him to renew his raids for money. The preoccupation of the Mughals with the tribal risings in the North-West Frontier left him comparatively free to pursue his plans and he carried on wars with the Mughals, Bijapur and the Abyssinians of Jinjira (Jangira). These did not however supply him with sufficient money and he therefore turned his eyes towards the rich Karnatak plain stretching down to the Madras coast. He first secured the alliance of the Qutb Shah of Golkunda and then prevailed upon Bahadur Khan, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, who had been alienated against Bijapur, to observe neutrality, during his invasion of the Karnatak (1677-78). This was followed by the quick occupation of Jinji, Vellore and many other forts which greatly enhanced his prestige in the Deccan ; the territory conquered by him in the Karnatak yielded an annual revenue of twenty lakhs of *huns* and contained 100 strongholds. After some hostile efforts against Shivaji his brother Vyankoji made peace with him. Shivaji restored to him the Karnatak plain keeping only the forts and the tableland of Mysore in his own hands. His last campaign (1679) was directed towards the Mughal Deccan, but all his plans against the Mughals were cut short by his premature death on 4th April, 1680, at the age of fifty-three (or

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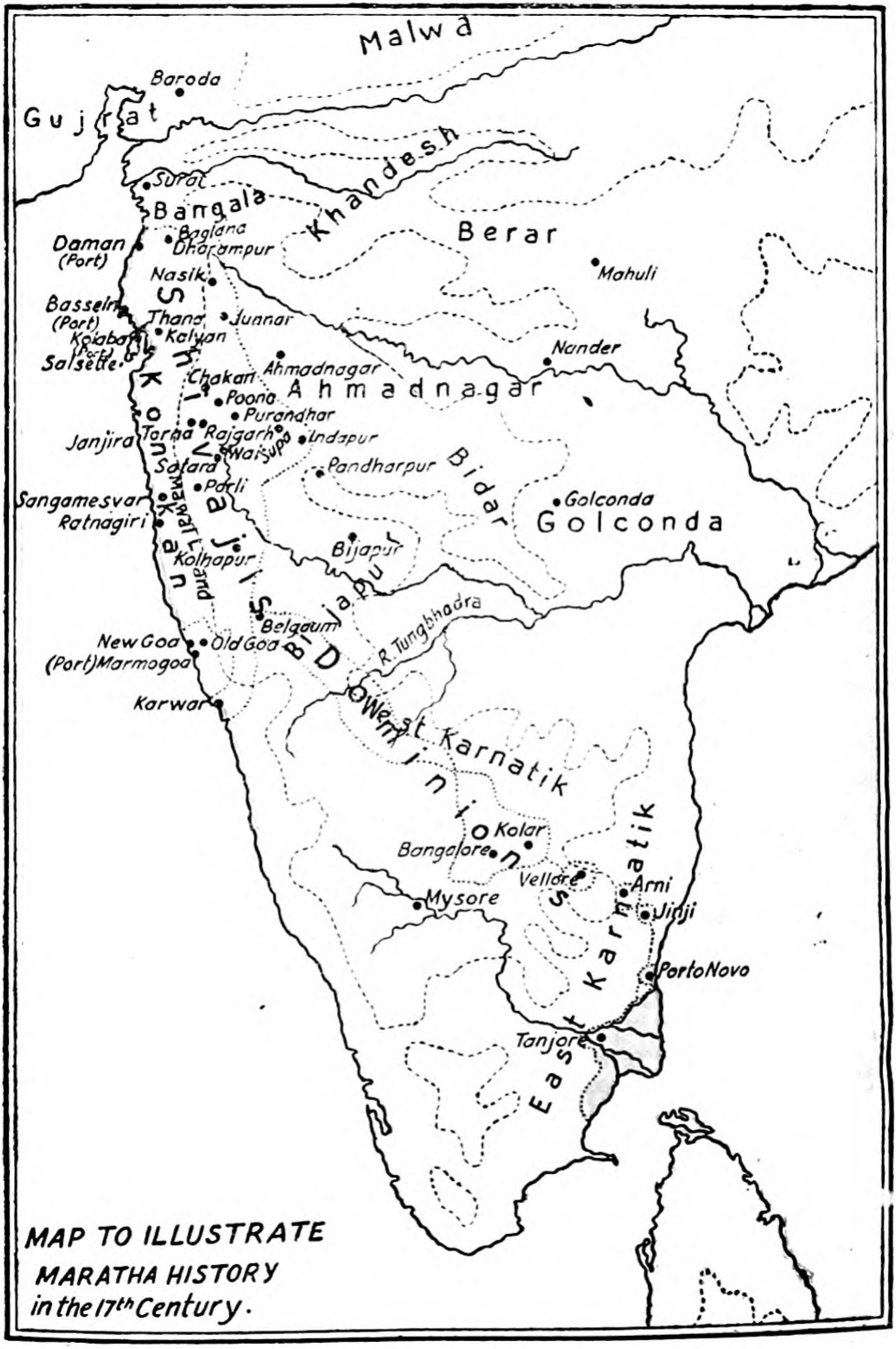
[180] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.


Malwa
Baroda
Gujrat
Khandesh
Surat
Bangala
Baglana
Dharampur
Daman (Port)
Berar
Mahuli
Nasik
Basseln (Port)
Thana
Junnar
Kalyan
Kolaba (Port)
Salsette
Nander
Ahmadnagar
Chakan
Poona
Ahmadnagar
Purandhar
Torna
Rajgarh
Supa
Indapur
Janjira
Wai
Satara
Pandharpur
Bidar
Parli
Golconda
Golconda
Sangamesvar
Ratnagiri
Konkan
Mawal Land
Shivaji's Dominions
Kolhapur
Bijapur
Bijapur
Belgaum
R. Tungbhadra
New Goa
Old Goa
(Port) Marmogoa
Karwar
West Karnatik
Kolar
Bangalore
Vellore
Arni
Jinji
Mysore
Porto Novo
Tanjore
East Karnatik

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
MARATHA HISTORY
in the 17th Century.

fifty). Shivaji's kingdom included the entire coast extending from Ramnagar (modern Dharmpur State in the Surat Agency), in the north, to Karwar in the south, excepting the Portuguese possessions (Daman, Salsette, Bassein, etc.). Towards the east the boundary embraced Baglana in the north and then ran southwards in an irregular line through the Nasik and Poona districts round the whole of the Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts. His recent conquests added to this the Western Karnatak extending from Belgaum to the bank of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district of what is now the Madras Presidency.

Shivaji was endowed with the spirit of an enlightened despot, and his administration, which was an improvement upon the existing order, was well calculated to secure the comfort and well-being of his subjects. It was not, though some of the European writers have so urged, a downright militarism, based on plunder, with no sound policy or beneficent principle. "Like nearly all great warriors—Napoleon is a conspicuous example—Shivaji was also a great administrator, for the qualities which go to make a capable general are those which are required by the successful organizer and statesman."[181] Like the contemporary Muslim rulers of India, Shivaji was in theory an autocrat and the supreme authority in the state was concentrated in his hands. But in the actual work of administration he was assisted by a council of eight ministers, the *ashta pradhan*. The council did not possess the characteristics of the Modern cabinets[182] and its function was purely advisory. The eight ministers were:

(1) The Prime Minister (*Peshwa*), whose duty was to look after the general welfare and interests of the state. (2) The Finance Minister (*Amatya*), who

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[181] **Rawlinson, *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 89.**

[182] **Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 79.**

checked and countersigned all public accounts of the kingdom in general and of the particular districts. (3) The Chronicler (*Mantri*), who kept daily record of the king's doings and court proceedings. (4) The Superintendent (*Sachiva*), who looked into the king's correspondence by drafting and revising letters and affixing royal seals on them and also checked the accounts of the *mahals* and *parganas*. (5) The Foreign Secretary (*Samanta*) in charge of the relations with foreign powers. (6) The Commander-in-Chief (*Senapati*). (7) The Ecclesiastical Head (*Pandit Rao* and *Danadhyaksha* or the Royal Chaplain and Almoner) who looked after the grant of lands to religious bodies and learned men, decided theological disputes, and fixed dates for ceremonials. (8) The Chief Justice (*Nyayadhisha*).

There were no less than thirty departments of the state, which were placed under the charge of ministers. The districts directly under his rule, known as the *Swaraj* territory, were divided into three provinces, each under a viceroy. These viceroys held their office during the king's pleasure and worked like him with the help of eight principal officers. All ministers of Shivaji except the commander-in-chief belonged to the Brahman caste, and all of them except the Pandit Rao and the Nyayadhisha had also to discharge the functions of military commanders when necessary. By not allowing these offices to become hereditary, Shivaji prevented for some time the evil of the growth of a number of practically independent authorities within the state ; but after him this tendency became prominent in the later Maratha history, owing to a departure from his salutary practice.[183]

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[183] Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 125.

Himself a born military leader, Shivaji effected important improvements in the military system. To prevent decentralising tendencies, he abolished the *jagir* system and introduced payment of soldiers in cash. The maintenance of a large number of forts formed a special feature of his system. There were 240 forts in his territory and he expended great care and skill in repairing the important ones like Rajgarh, Torna, Pratapgarh and Raigarh (known as 'Gibraltar of the East'). The strongholds were of great strategic value, and Rawlinson remarks that "the people were taught to regard 'the fort as their mother' as indeed it was, for thither the inhabitants of the surrounding villages resorted in time of invasions, with their flocks and herds and treasure, and in times of peace they earned a living by supplying the garrisons with provisions and fodder."[184] Every fort was under three officers of equal rank, viz., the *havaldar*, the *sabnis* and the *sar-i-naubat*, who were to act together. In order to prevent treachery on the part of the officers, he provided "that in each garrison there should be a mixture of castes." The environs of the fort were entrusted to men of the Parwari and Ramushi castes.

Shivaji maintained a standing army, the strength of which rose from thirty to forty thousand cavalry, and ten thousand infantry recruited from the ranks of the peasantry. He also organised a fighting fleet and recruited his crew from among the low caste Hindus of the Bombay coast.[185] Though the achievements of the Maratha navy under Shivaji were not so remarkable, yet in subsequent times the Maratha fleet under the Angiras gave much trouble to the English, the Portuguese and the Dutch. According to the *Sabhasad Bakhar* he had an elephant corps numbering about 1,260, and a camel corps numbering 3,000 or 1,500.[186] We have no precise knowledge about the strength of his artillery, but Mr. Orme mentions that " he had previously purchased eighty pieces of cannon and lead sufficient for his matchlock from the French Director at Surat."[187]

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[184] *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 93.

[185] Vide Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 336—40 and Dr. S. Sen's *History of the Maratha Navy* published in the *Journal of Indian History*.

There was a hierarchy of officers in the military department. The cavalry consisted of *bargirs*, or soldiers supplied with pay and equipments by the state, and the *silahdars*, who provided themselves with their own equipments and received a stipulated sum from the state for meeting the expenses of service in the field. In the cavalry the unit was formed by twenty-five troopers; over twenty-five men was one *havaldar*, over five *havaldars* one *jumladar* and over ten *jumlas* one *hazari* who was paid 1,000 *huns* a year. Five *hazaris* formed a *panjhazari* who received a salary of 2,000 *huns* and these were under the command of a *sarnobat* or Senapati, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry. There was a similar grade of officers in the infantry. The lowest unit was formed by the nine privates (*paiks*) under the command of a *nayak*. Over five *nayaks* was one *havaldar*, two or three of whom were under one *jumladar*; ten *jumladars* were under one *hazari*, and seven *hazaris* were under the command of the *sarnobat* of the infantry.

Though generous in the matter of payment or rewards to his soldiers, Shivaji always tried to maintain strict discipline in the army and never allowed anything which might degrade their morals. He drew up some strict regulations[188] for the soldier's guidance, which were scrupulously enforced. Khafi Khan writes that Shivaji " laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, ... gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs or jewels, were not to belong to the finder but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers and to be by them paid over to Shivaji's government."[189] During the sack of Surat, the Marathas "did not touch cloth, copper utensils, and other insignificant articles."[190]

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[186] Sarkar's *Shivaji*.

[187] *Historical Fragments*, p. 38.

[188] Quoted in Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 469-70.

For purposes of revenue collection and administration. Shivaji divided his kingdom into several *prant(a)s* or provinces, each of which was subdivided into *parganas* and *tarfs*, the lowest unit being formed by the village. The *tarf* was under a *havaldar* or a *karkun*, the *prant* under a *subahdar*, *karkun*, or *mukhya deshadhikari;* sometimes several *prants* were placed under a *subahdar* who received as his salary 400 *huns* a year besides a *palki* allowance of another 400. Shivaji tried to sweep away the farming system and substituted for it direct arrangement with the cultivators. "The ryots were not subject to the authority of the zamindars, *deshmukhs*, and *desais*, who had no right to exercise the powers of a political superior (overlord) or harass the ryots."[191] The assessment was made after the lands had been carefully surveyed by the *kathi* or measuring-rod. The state's share was fixed at 30 per cent but it was afterwards raised by Shivaji to 40 per cent when he had abolished all other taxes and cesses.[192] The cultivator had the option of paying either in cash or kind. The peasants knew what they had to pay and they could pay it without any great oppression.[193] Agriculture received state encouragement; in times of famine, grain and money for the purchase of seeds were advanced to the ryots who repaid the debt in instalments according to their means. Fryer has given an unfavourable and wrong picture of Shivaji's revenue administration when he says that the peasants were subject to extortions and oppression at the hands of the officers and in fact " the great fish prey on the little and even Bijapur rule was milder than that of Shivaji." The true explanation of such observations seems to be that Shivaji in restoring order in the midst of anarchy and establishing a financially sound state, had to be very strict in revenue realisation and this to average men compared unfavourably with the lax ways of the decaying Bijapur government. All the modern scholars have established, after a critical examination of the original sources, that his system was humane and beneficent. Even Grant Duff with all his attacks against Shivaji owns that " his claim to a high rank in the page of history must be admitted " and that under him the kingdom was well administered being conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people.

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[189] Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 260-61.

[190] Rawlinson, *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 98 footnote.

[191] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 471.

[192] Dr. S. Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 73.

[193] Kennedy, *History of the Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 125.

As the hill tracts of Maharashtra did not yield land revenue up to his expectation, Shivaji often levied the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from neighbouring and sometimes from distant districts directly or nominally within other states. According to Mr. Ranade the *chauth* was not a ' mere military contribution without any moral or legal obligation, but a payment in lieu of protection against the invasion of a third power.' He compaires it with Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliances and says : " the demand for the *chauth* was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops maintained for such services. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji, and it was the same idea which in Marquis of Wellesley's hands bore such fruit a hundred and twenty years later."[194] But Sir J. N. Sarkar holds a different opinion and writes : " The payment of the *chauth* merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and civil underlings, but did not impose on Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or internal disorder. The Marathas looked only to their own gain and not to the fate of their prey after they had left. The *chauth* was only a means of buying off one robber; and not a subsidiary system for the maintenance of peace and order against all enemies. The lands subject to the *chauth* cannot, therefore, be rightly called spheres of influence."[195] Mr. Sardesai says that it was a tribute realised from hostile or conquered territories.[196] This practice was in vogue in Western India before Shivaji, and he exacted it from the countries which he invaded promising in return exemption from other exactions and protection against any other foreign invasion. Dr. Sen holds that the *chauth* was a contribution exacted by a military leader though he adds that such exactions were justified by the urgent needs of the situation.[197] Whatever might be the theory of the *chauth*, Dr. Sen gives a real picture of the thing as it was in practice. In theory the *chauth* was one-fourth of the revenue of a district invaded by the Marathas, but " as this paper assessment was always larger than the actual collection, the real incidence of the *chauth* was considerably more than one-fourth of what the peasants paid to their legitimate sovereign."[198] The *sardeshmukhi* was an additional levy of 10 per cent and it was demanded by Shivaji as he claimed to be the hereditary *sardeshmukh* of the Maratha country, which was nothing but a legal fiction.

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[194] *Rise of the Maratha Power*, pp. 224-25.

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[195] *Shivaji*, p. 458. But see *infra*, Chap. II, Part II, Husain Ali's treaty with the Marathas and f. n. on the point.

[196] *Main Currents of Maratha History*, pp. 80—82.

[197] *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 100.

[198] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 457-58

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Shivaji occupies a prominent place in the history of India. Possessed of a creative genius of high order, he rose from the position of a petty *jagirdar* to that of a *Chhatrapati* and proved himself the irresistible foe of the Timurid Empire which was then at the zenith of its power. The most notable of his achievements was the welding of the scattered fragments of the Maratha race into a national state in the teeth of violent Mughal imperial opposition. This small new-born Maratha power continued to defy the mighty Timurid Empire during and after Aurangzeb and remained the most dominating power in India throughout the eighteenth century, so that at one time a descendant of Aurangzeb held his throne as the puppet of a Maratha chief and the power of its new competitor the East India Company was seriously challenged. Shivaji "had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a spell over all who knew him, drawing the best elements of the country to his side and winning the most devoted service from his officers, while his dazzling victories and ever-ready smile made him the idol of his soldiery. His royal gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his success, as his selection of generals and governors, diplomatists and secretaries was never at fault, and his administration, both civil and military, was unrivalled for efficiency." Offices were bestowed by him on really meritorious men irrespective of creed, and though a devout Hindu he employed some Muslims in important posts.[199] The territory under his direct authority enjoyed all the gifts of good government such as universal toleration, equal justice and protection. He did not utilise its resources for the satisfaction of his whims or for his personal comforts, but he was ever watchful after the welfare of the common people and he extended his charity and benevolence to all.

[199] Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 80-81.

Shivaji was not " an entrepreneur of rapine or a Hindu edition of Alauddin Khilji or Taimur " as Khafi Khan and some Western writers have wrongly believed. " No blind fanatic, no mere brigand," observes Sir J. N Sarkar, " can found a state . . . . There can be no denying the fact that he (Shivaji) was, as the ancient Greeks would have called him, 'a king among men,'—one endowed with the divine instinct or genius."[200] As a constructive statesman he established a sovereign state in the teeth of mighty opposition of three great contemporary powers of India,—the Mughals, the Bijapuris and the Portuguese. " Unlike Ranjit Singh and Mahdaji Sindhia, he built up an administrative system and raised a national army without any foreign help. His institutions lasted long and were looked up to with admiration and emulation even a century later in the palmy days of the Peshwas' rule."[201] He had not a robber's love of plunder for plunder's sake or a savage and ruthless conqueror's liking for unnecessary cruelty. Mr. Rawlinson rightly remarks: " His was a dark and violent age, and at least Shivaji's hands were not stained, like those of Aurangzeb, with the blood of his kindred. He was never deliberately or wantonly cruel. To respect women, mosques, and non-combatants, to stop promiscuous slaughter after a battle, to realise and dismiss with honour captured officers and men—these are, surely, no light virtues."[202] Of course the raids carried on by his soldiers cannot always be defended, but it was not always possible for him to restrain them by his personal presence. The desperate, reckless and relentless character of his lifelong warfare was more or less due to his conviction,—a right one and the result of his correct study of the trend of the imperial policy in the

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[200] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

[201] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 496.

[202] *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 99.

Peninsula since the days of Akbar,—that every Deccani power must fight the Mughal tooth and nail for its existence. His wars with Bijapur (ruling over a large part of the Maratha country) were also necessary for the realisation of his ideal of an independent Maratha national state at least in the Deccan. "The whole of his short life was one long struggle with enemies, a period of preparation and not of fruition,"[203] and it is, therefore, difficult to deduce from the record of his activities whether he aimed at the establishment of an all-India Hindu Empire or not.

In his private life, Shivaji was far in advance of his time. He was absolutely free from the vices of rulers of his time and possessed a high standard of morality. His devotion to his parents was proverbial. Sincerely religious from his very boyhood, he followed all through his life the lofty ideal held before him by his guru Ramdas and became the most powerful champion of Hinduism. An intensely busy political worker, Shivaji did not forget his Hindu religion for a moment. After he had organised his government, he took measures to promote its interests and to make it an effective force in the making and strengthening of his nation state. He extended his patronage to learned Brahmans and ascetics and encouraged Vedic studies by granting stipends to scholars from distant places. Learned Brahmans were employed to find vernacular and classical synonyms for foreign (Persian) words that had gained currency during Muslim rule in the Peninsula, and their labours produced the compilation entitled the *Raja-vyavahara-Kosha.*

"Religion remained with him an ever-fresh fountain of right conduct and generosity; it did not obsess his mind or harden him into a bigot." He was tolerant of other faiths, venerated Muslim saints and granted lands and annuities to

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[203] Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 492-93.

Muslim shrines.[204] Even Khafi Khan, who regarded him as a "hell-dog," writes: "But he made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the woman of anyone. Whenever a copy of the sacred Quran came into his hands he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Mussalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty."[205] The same hostile critic also praises his respect for women and children of Hindus as well as Muslims and strict enforcement of morality in his camp.[206]

No doubt the Maratha state ultimately collapsed owing to various factors which will be discussed subsequently. Even during the inspiring days of Shivaji, the entire body of the Maratha people, divided into castes and sub-castes, failed to develop patriotism in the true sense of the term, and Shivaji himself had to struggle hard against jealousy and opposition of certain Maratha families, even of his own brother Vyankoji. But it must be admitted to the credit of Shivaji that, in spite of all these handicaps, he made substantial contributions towards national progress in manifold directions. In his latest study about Shivaji, Sir J. N. Sarkar estimates that he was "not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but also the greatest constructive genius of medieval India" and that "the memory of a true 'hero as king' like Shivaji remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race—to animate the heart, to kindle the imagination and to inspire the brain of succeeding ages to the highest endeavours."[207]

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[204] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[205] Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 260.

[206] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

[207] Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 82-83.

Shivaji was succeeded by his eldest son Shambhuji who, though endowed with bravery, was a man of loose character and spent his days in merrymaking while he ought to have strengthened the position of the Marathas. When Aurangzeb was engaged against Bijapur and Golkunda, Shambhuji's men only raided some parts of the Mughal territory instead of following any well-thought-out plan to divert the Mughals from their operations against the Deccan Sultanates.[208] After their conquest Aurangzeb turned his attention seriously to the Marathas, and captured several of their forts, while Shambhuji moved to Sangameshwar, twenty-two miles north-east of Ratnagiri City, where he wasted precious time carelessly in drinkin and revelry. But he was soon roused from his fairy dreams when the Mughal general Muqarrab Khan made a surprise attack, and captured him with his friend Kavi-Kulesh and twenty-five of his chief followers with their wives and daughters. The prisoners were brought to the imperial camp at Bahadurgarh amidst great rejoicings of the imperialist officers, and they were presented to the Emperor in a humiliating manner.[209]

Shambhuji and his followers were horribly tortured and then put to death on 11th March, 1689, with great cruelty, "their limbs being hacked off one by one and their flesh thrown to the dogs."[210] Their heads stuffed with straw were exposed to public gaze in all the chief cities of the Deccan. Many of the Maratha forts now fell quickly into the hands of the Mughals. Soon after this an imperial army under Itiqad Khan reduced the Maratha capital Raigarh and captured Shambhuji's family including his infant son Shahu (who was carefully brought up in the Mughal camp and harem). But Rajaram, a son of

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[208] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 396.

[409] *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

[210] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

Shivaji by another wife and now the acknowledged head of the Maratha State, escaped in the guise of a *Yogi* and betook himself to the fort of Jinji in the Karnatak.

These reverses did not, however, seriously damp the spirit of the Marathas; they quickly recovered and began to strike at the Mughal power once again. Shivaji's work survived the test of crushing adversity, and the new nation proved stronger than his dynasty. At Jinji, Rajaram devoted himself to the consolidation of his power. "Jinji became a centre of Maratha enterprise in the east coast, while their ministers (notably Ramchandra Pant) left at home organised resistance to the Mughals in the west. The difficulties of Aurangzeb were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha government or state-army for him to attack and destroy."[211]

It was from 1690 that the Marathas began to win victories. Two Mughal generals of high rank were defeated and captured, the siege of Jinji could not be effectively pushed on, Prince Muiz-ud-din's efforts to wrest Panhala from the Marathas ended in failure (1691—94), and by the end of 1695 Santaji defeated two other first-rate Mughal generals, Qasim Khan and Himmat Khan, who lost their lives. Thus by the end of 1695, the contest of the Mughals with the Marathas was "no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal Empire and the indigenous people."[212] Aurangzeb realised the gravity of the situation, and settled at Islampuri in anticipation of a prolonged struggle.

[211] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 8.

[212] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

From 1695—99 the roving bands of the Marathas under Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav carried on their raids with such bewildering rapidity and vehemence that the prestige and strength of the Mughals were seriously weakened. Many of the Mughal local officers bought their safety by paying the *chauth* to the Marathas without any imperial sanction, while some of them joined with the enemy for enriching themselves by plundering their own Emperor's subjects. A house divided against itself cannot stand for a long time. As Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: "The Mughal administration had really dissolved, and only the presence of the emperor with all his troops in country held it together, but it was now a delusive phantom. Santa and Dhana were the heroes of this period; the initiative lay entirely with them, and they upset every plan and calculation formed by the imperialists."[213] The Mughals achieved only one important success. Jinji, which had stood a siege for nearly eight years (1690—98), was at last captured by Zulfiqar Khan in January 1698. But Rajaram escaped before the capture and proceeded safely to the Maratha country whence he had fled eight years ago. At Satara he organised a new state-army consisting of the veteran troopers, *silahdars* and *bargirs* of Shivaji's time, brought all the Maratha generals under his banner, and with their help levied *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from Khandesh, Berar and Baglana.

On the 19th October, 1699, Aurangzeb, then an old man of eighty, left Islampuri with the object of conducting the operations against the Marathas in person, as he now realised the consequences of internal quarrels and mutual jealousies among his generals;[214] but he was now too old to successfully lead a campaign. In the month of December the imperialists besieged Satara but met with a heroic resistance from the garrison. All the efforts of the imperialists to storm the fort failed. The death of Rajaram in 1700 changed the situation and his minister Parashuram now made peace with the Emperor, handing over the fort of Satara to the Mughals. Besides this they captured the famous fort of Torna (1704) by assault, while the forts of Parli (1700), Panhala (1701), Khelna (1702), Kondana (1703), and Rajgarh (1704) capitulated each for a price. Rajaram was succeeded by his natural son Karna who died of small-pox after a reign of three weeks. Tara Bai Mohite, the dowager-queen, then crowned her own legitimate son Shivaji III, a minor, and acted as the Regent. She was a woman of masterful spirit and guided the destiny of the Maratha nation at a very critical moment. Even the hostile critic Khafi Khan has admitted that she was a "clever, intelligent woman, and had obtained reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters."[215] She efficiently organised the administration, and did her best to suppress the discordant elements in the state such as the quarrels between the supporters of rival claimants to the throne (*viz.*, the party of Tara Bai and her son, the party of Rajas Bai, the junior wife of Rajaram and the mother of Shambhuji II, and the party which upheld the cause of Shahu) and the personal rivalries among the Maratha generals.

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[213] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[214] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

With all his efforts, Aurangzeb failed to subdue the spirit of the Marathas or to conquer their country. By 1703 the Marathas became practically masters of the situation in the Deccan and even in adjacent parts of Northern India, and their resources increased through raids and robbery. A change also came over their military equipments and tactics. As Manucci saw in 1704, "These (Maratha) leaders and their troops move in these days with much confidence, because they have cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time they possess artillery, musketry, bows and arrows with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents. They carry these to secure some repose from time to time. In short they are equipped and move about just like the armies of the Mughals . . . . only a few years ago they did not march in this fashion." In 1703 a party of the Marathas entered Berar (now for a century a Mughal province), and in 1706 they invaded Gujrat and sacked Baroda. In April or May 1706 a vast Maratha army threatened the Emperor's camp at Ahmadnagar. Thus when the prestige and power of the Timurid Empire were dwindling away, the Marathas remained unsubdued, and seven years after the death of Aurangzeb began a strong Maratha revival under the Peshwas.

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[215] Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 367 and 374.

SECTION VI

RELATIONS OF THE MUGHALS WITH THE SIKHS, THE JATS, THE BUNDELAS AND THE SATNAMIS

The birth of the Sikh community belongs to that period of popular reformation which began with the dismemberment of the Afghan Empire. Nanak, the founder of this sect, was born in 1469 at Talwandi (modern Nankana), about thirty-five miles south-west of Lahore in the Sarkarpur subdivision of the Lahore district. His father Kalu was a village accountant of the Khatri caste.[216] Being of a pious disposition from his boyhood,

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[216] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 73. Cunningham (p. 49) writes that Nanak's father was a "petty trader in his native village." In the *Seir-ul-mutakherin* (Briggs' Translation, Vol. I, p. 110), his father is mentioned as a grain merchant and in the *Dabistan* (Vol. II, p. 247) himself as a grain factor.

Nanak was little fitted for worldly occupations, and giving up his post under Daulat Khan Lodi, he took to a life of religious travel and preaching in an age of strife, insecurity and disorder. He believed in the existence of one true living God and exhorted his followers to conduct themselves in such a way as to realise that existence. He insisted on the common truth of all religions, and held that salvation could be attained through good action and uprightness of conduct. He denounced the Brahmans and Mullahs and attached no value to the external elements of religion. "There is no Hindu and no Mussalman"[217] was one of his significant utterances. The chief features of his system were "its non-sectarian character"[218] and its harmony with secular life. "This liberality of mind, devotion to the essence of religion, and contempt for wealth and power continued to mark the Sikh Gurus throughout the sixteenth century, from Nanak to Arjun the fifth Guru. Their saintly lives won the reverence of the Mughal emperors and they had no quarrel either with Islam or the state."[219] At the time of his death in 1538 (at Kartarpur in the Jalandhar Doab) Nanak nominated one of his disciples named Lahina, a Tihun Khatri, to whom he had given the name of Angad, as his successor, excluding his two sons, who were of bigoted nature. Angad remained true to the principles of his great teacher and died in 1552 having named Amardas, a Bhalla Khatri, as his successor. Amardas died in 1574 leaving as his successor his son-in-law Ramdas. He was held in esteem by Akbar, who granted him a piece of land on which he enlarged and improved the pool of Amritsar and constructed a temple called the *Har-mandar*. A town soon grew up round the pool and the shrine and became the spiritual centre of the Sikh community. He died in 1581 and was succeeded by his son Arjun.

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[217] Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, p. 40.

[218] Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 11 and 13.

[219] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 305.

From this time the Guru's office became hereditary; the "Guru was credited with superhuman powers; he was invested with regal pomp, and man-worship began to infect the Sikhs."[220] Arjun was also the first Guru to interfere in politics. The early Gurus depended on the 'fluctuating voluntary offerings of their predecessors;' but Arjun sent a band of collectors called *masands* to every city where there was a Sikh for collecting the tithes and offerings of the faithful and these were sent to the central treasury at Amritsar. He also engaged in trade. He became something like a temporal king and surrounded himself with courtiers and ministers. He did much for the organisation and growth of the Sikh community. He compiled the Ādi Granth, or 'the First Book,' as the original Sikh scripture is called, by selecting verses from the compositions of his four predecessors as well as from those of "the followers of the principal Indian saints, Hindu and Muhammadan, since the days of Jaideo."[221] He was perhaps right in sympathising with and helping the rebel Prince Khusrav, the idol of the people, a man of character and culture with a liberal attitude to all religions. But the ill success of the prince brought down the wrath of the Mughals on the Sikhs now for the first time; Guru Arjun's property was confiscated, and he was thrown into prison and tortured to death in 1606. Jahangir's attitude towards the Sikh was a clever mixture of punishment for treason and religious persecution.

The death of Guru Arjun highly exasperated the Sikhs and turned them into enemies of the Mughal Empire. The next Guru Har Govind was almost necessarily a man of warlike and adventurous spirit, and he turned the Sikhs into a military community. But at this early stage their hostility to the empire was not fully and openly manifested. Thus Har Govind took service under Jahangir; but he incurred the displeasure of the Emperor for refusing to pay the fine originally imposed on but not paid by Guru Arjun, and was therefore kept as a prisoner in the fortress of Gwalior for twelve years (1615—27). Shahjahan also employed him, but he soon revolted against Mughal authority. Though he gained some successes at first and defeated an imperial army at Sangrama, near Amritsar (1628), he was ultimately forced to take refuge at Kiratpur in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1645 after nominating his younger grandson Hari Rai as his successor. "During the ministry of Har Govind, the Sikhs increased greatly in numbers and the fiscal policy of Arjun, and the armed system of his son, had already formed them into a kind of separate state within the empire."[222] Nothing important happened in the days of the next two Gurus, Hari Rai (1645—61) and Har Kishan (1661—64).

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[220] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[221] Macauliffe, Vol. III, p. 60.

After some disputes about the succession on the death of Har Kishan, Teg Bahadur, second son of Har Govind the sixth Guru, was recognised as (the ninth) Guru by most of the Sikhs. On his appointment, Teg Bahadur settled at Anandpur, six miles from Kiratpur. For some unexplained reasons he went to Patna where he lived for a few months and his son Govind was born (1666). He accompanied Raja Ram Singh (son of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh) to the Assam war (1668) but in a few years returned to Upper India and took up his abode once again at Anandpur. His disciples called him '*Sacha Padshah*' or the "True Emperor" as if by way of a challenge to the Mughal Emperor. He protested against Aurangzeb's attacks on the followers of other creeds[223] and encouraged the Hindus of

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[222] Cunningham, p. 75.

[223] Khafi Khan says: "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents (masands) for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities."

Kashmir to resist his policy. This drew upon him the wrath of the Emperor, who summoned him to Delhi and asked him to embrace Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then put to death (1675). According to another story, he was asked to accept Islam or to prove his Guruship by exhibiting miracles. He preferred the latter alternative and wrote a charm on a piece of paper, which, he said, would protect his neck from harm. When the executioner's blow severed his head, there was found written on the paper the words: *Sir dia sar na dia*, i.e., he had given his head but not his secret.[224]

The martyrdom of Teg Bahadur made the Sikhs more revengeful. Soon they found a leader in the tenth and the last Guru, Govind Singh, the only son of Teg Bahadur. With strong determination to avenge the death of his father and oppose the reactionary policy of the Mughal Emperor, he turned his attention towards organising the necessary military force. Open war between the Sikhs and the Mughals could not be prevented any longer (a curious fate of Nanak's movement for Hindu-Moslem unity), and " in the heart of a powerful empire " Guru Govind " set himself to the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire."[225] The brotherhood organised by him came to be known as the *Khalsa* and he asked its members to abstain from tobacco and to wear the 'five K's,' *kesh* (long hair), *kachchha* (short drawers), *kankan* (iron bangle), *kripan* (a dagger or sword) and *kangha* (comb). He also compiled a supplementary *granth*, known as the *Daswen Padshah ka Granth*, the Book of the Tenth Sovereign.

Nanak's ideal of winning the kingdom of heaven by 'holy living and holy dying' was replaced by more material ideals in the time of Guru Govind. "Mother dear," said Govind, "I have been considering how I may *confer empire* on the Khalsa;" and again, "I shall make men of all four castes lions and destroy the Mughals." He lived in a prince's state, organised an army, built hill-forts and began open hostility against the imperialists. From 1695 he fought successfully against the hill-rajahs of the North Punjab as well as the Mughal officers and semi-independent local Muslim chiefs. Large imperial forces were sent from Sarhind to suppress the Guru. He succeeded in baffling their attempts for some time, but was ultimately defeated. Two of his sons fell into the hands of the *faujdar* of Sarhind and were executed with great cruelty and the Guru himself spent his days as a fugitive. The imperialists continued the pursuit, but he repulsed them at a place since called Muktesar or 'the Pool of Salvation.'[226]

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[224] Cunningham, p. 81. '*Sir dia din na dia*' is another version.

[225] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

When Aurangzeb's end was drawing near, he summoned Guru Govind to his presence by promising him an honourable reception. The Guru proceeded to meet him in the South, but on his way received the news of his death (1707). He is said to have helped Bahadur Shah in his fight for the throne and accompanied him to the Deccan, where also he fought for him, but was stabbed to death (1708) by an Afghan fanatic. He nominated Banda as his military successor, but apprehending that disputes might arise about the *Guruship*, he abolished it and entrusted the spiritual headship of the Sikhs to a 'panchayat' of his surviving disciples saying "I shall ever be among five Sikhs. Where there are five Sikhs of mine assembled they shall be priests of all priests,"—a piece of reform almost Calvinistic in its democratic attitude.

Aurangzeb's extreme policy in relation to the followers of other faiths also provoked the Jats of Mathura to open rebellion. Abd-un-Nabi Khan, *faujdar* of Mathura from August 1660 to

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[226] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

May 1669, had greatly oppressed the Jats, and offended their sentiments. In 1669 the Jat peasantry rose under the leadership of Gokla, the zamindar of Tilpat, killed the *faujdar* in open battle, plundered the *pargana* of Sadabad and carried lawlessness to other districts. This excited the Emperor's wrath, who sent several generals against the Jats and himself proceeded to the affected area. The imperialists defeated the Jats in a place about twenty miles from Tilpat and Gokla was captured with his family and a large number of followers. The Mughals suffered a casualty of 4,000 men while the Jats lost 5,000 men. Gokla's "limbs were hacked off one by one on the platform of the police office of Agra, his family was forcibly converted to Islam."[227]

But the trouble did not disappear with the death of Gokla. Hassan Ali Khan, the new *faujdar* of Mathura, was no less cruel and oppressive than his predecessor.[228] The Jats rose in revolt for the second time in 1686 under the leadership of Raja Ram, who became so audacious that he plundered and desecrated Akbar's tomb at Sikandra in the suburbs of Agra (1688). Raja Ram was defeated and slain, and the principal stronghold of the Jats was reduced in 1691. But they now found a more efficient leader in Churaman who, with his headquarters at Sansani, carried on armed resistance on a large scale till the end of Aurangzeb's reign, and could not be subdued by his weak successors.

The same imperial policy gave birth to another armed protest,—by the Bundelas. The Bundelas, a clan of the Gaharwar Rajputs, settled in the tract which derived the name of Bundelkhand from them, were protected from the full force of the imperial chastisement by the 'dense forests, the rapid streams, and the steep hills of Central India,' and for about two centuries they controlled more or less effectually the region separating the Doab from Gondwana. Bir Singh Deo, the head of the Bundelas, had openly revolted against Akbar (1602) and shrewdly joined the rebel prince Salim, at whose instigation he murdered Abul Fazl. The utmost efforts of Akbar to punish Bir Singh Bundela for his crime and treason failed, as the latter took recourse to guerilla tactics of warfare so suitable for the Bundela land.

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[227] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 294.

[228] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

Champat Rai rebelled against Aurangzeb during the early part of his reign but was hard pressed by the Emperor and escaped imprisonment by committing suicide. He left behind him four sons, the fourth of whom named Chhatrasal "lived to defy the imperial government with success." Though a boy of eleven at the time of his father's death he soon rose into prominence. After repeated entreaties, he and his elder brother Angad were employed by Mirza Rajah Jai Singh in his own contingent, and were promoted to higher ranks (1665) in recognition of their services at the siege of Purandar in the campaign against Shivaji. They then accompanied Jai Singh in his invasion of Bijapur; and Chhatrasal was next employed by Dilir Khan in the Mughal attack against Deogarh. But soon he felt that his services were not being properly recognised by the Mughal Government, and " dreamt of taking to a life of adventure and independence in imitation of Shivaji, which meant a defiance of the Mughal Government."[229] The discontented Hindu population of Bundelkhand and the adjoining province of Malwa hailed Chhatrasal " as the champion of the Hindu faith and Kshatriya honour " (1671). He gained many victories over the Mughals, and finally carved out an independent principality for himself in Eastern Malwa with its capital at Panna. His life ended in 1731 " with the complete effacement of Mughal rule in Bundelkhand."[230]

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[229] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V. p. 393.

Another rebellion against Aurangzeb's policy was started by the Satnamis, who were originally an inoffensive sect of Hindu worshippers so called from their devotion to the name of the true God (Satya-Nama), and they also got the nickname of *mundiyas* as they affected shaven heads. Khafi Khan writes of them : " These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion, they have dignified themselves with the title of ' Good name,' this being the meaning of *satnam*. They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If anyone attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it. Many of them have weapons or arms."[231] Narnol (in Patiala, East Punjab) and Mewat (Alwar region) were their chief centres, religious at first, military subsequently.

The immediate cause of their rising was however a pinprick of despotism : the murder of a Satnami cultivator by a Mughal foot-soldier (*piada*). The infuriated Satnamis of the neighbourhood belaboured the soldier till he seemed dead, and then broke out into open rebellion. " The quarrel soon took on a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindus by an attack on Aurangzeb himself."[232] The *faujdar* of Narnol came forward to oppose them but was routed and fled away. When the situation became serious, the Emperor sent a large force, under Radandaz Khan and some other generals of high rank, which defeated the Satnamis and suppressed the outbreak by sweeping massacres.

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[230] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

[231] Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 294.

[232] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 297.

SECTION VII

RAJPUT POLICY OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

The battle of Khanwah (1527) did by no means completely destroy the Rajput power in the North, just as the battle of Talikota (1565) did not result in the total eclipse of Hindu dominion in the South.[233] The momentum of the Hindu revival (begun two centuries ago) persisted, and broke into another manifestation in the latter half of the seventeenth century. After the defeat of 1527, the Rajputs remained as a powerful military and ruling race, and even Sher Shah could overcome some of them not in fair fight but by treachery. They would presently have again raised their heads as serious adversaries of the newly-established Timurid Empire, but for the temporary spread of liberal ideas into the field of politics from that of religion. A ruler of India could allow such an important part of its population to remain hostile only at his own risk and no empire could be safe and long-standing without their intelligent and active co-operation. Akbar, in whom liberalism and statecraft were finely blended, realised the importance of this factor in the history of India. His first and foremost desire was to build up a new empire for a foreign dynasty with a few friends in the country, and he was careful not to sacrifice his chances for the sake of religious orthodoxy.[234] The Rajputs were known to the Mughals from the very beginning for their military prowess and valour, and Akbar rightly thought[235] that if their hostility was dangerous their alliance would be highly valuable for him and their willing submission was necessary for the integrity of his empire. So he tried, as far as possible, to turn the Rajputs into honourable allies of the empire by friendly persuasion.

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[233] *Vide* the Section on 'The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire.'

[234] So also his father had adopted Shia-ism for the sake of recovering his lost dominion.

[235] Here was Babar's failure, that he could not enlist Rajput support; Humayun also failed equally.

In 1562 when Akbar was going on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti, midway between Agra and Ajmer, Bihari Mall, the Kachwaha Raja of Amber (Jaipur), submitted to him and their friendship was cemented by a matrimonial alliance. The Raja's daughter, who was married to Akbar at Sambhar, received the title of Mariyam Zamani, and she became afterwards the mother of Jahangir. Bihari Mall, with his son Bhagwan Das and grandson Man Singh, went to Agra, where he received a command of 5,000, and his son and grandson (who were destined to play important parts during the reign of Akbar) were also admitted to the rank of army officers.

Mewar having resisted the extension of Mughal control, Chitor was invaded by the imperialists in 1567-68, and it fell before them. The fall of Chitor disheartened the rest of Rajput clans, and in the course of the next year the strong fortresses of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar were surrendered, and the rulers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer paid their homage to the Emperor and gave their daughters in marriage to him. Rajasthan came to be reckoned as a Mughal Subah with headquarters at Ajmer. But Mewar as a whole did not fall prostrate as yet.

A critical study of Akbar's treatment of the Rajputs shows that, though the outcome of his imperialistic motives, it was on the whole conciliatory and more generous and friendly than that of the other Muslim rulers of India. He certainly made no scruples about ruthlessly destroying local independence however inoffensive or nobly championed. He fought for empire and glory as other Turks before him had done, but with this important difference that by his wise policy he made many who would have fought him come over to fight for him. By nature incapable of religious fanaticism, and open to the influences of contemporary liberal thought. Akbar neither persecuted the Rajputs as infidel Hindus nor subjected them to the humiliation of being classed as political inferiors. Their admission to equal privileges with the Muslims secured their active co-operation with the empire, whose interests they served in various spheres, military, administrative, financial or literary and artistic, and thus contributed much towards the attainment of that political unity, efficiency of government, and cultural excellence, the like of which India had gained only once or twice before, in the days of the great Mauryas or the Guptas. As generals the Rajputs fought ungrudgingly for the empire side by side with the Mughals, and many of them being themselves lovers of art and literature increased the glory and splendour of Akbar's court. Their presence (like the Rajput intermarriages) also furthered the mutual assimilation of thought and ideas between the Hindus and the Muslims in higher circles and the growth of a refined Indo-Muslim culture, which is one of the most important legacies of Mughal rule to India. Thus the new empire witnessed a grand fusion of diverse intellects and ideas, creeds and races,—which was made possible by the liberal tendencies of its founder himself and of the age in which he flourished.

Soon after his accession Jahangir adopted his father's policy towards Mewar and proceeded to complete the task left unfinished by him.

Though Shahjahan's reign saw the introduction of reactionary religious considerations into the field of governance and politics, yet no very marked change appeared in his time in the relations between the empire and the Rajputs. Once, late in his reign (1654), the chief of Mewar re-fortified Chitor in violation of the previous treaty; but Mughal power was stronger in the North than in the Deccan where Shivaji was successfully defying the empire and Bijapur; and an expedition under the command of the *Wazir* Sadullah Khan extorted an apology from the Rana for the presumption and dismantled the new additions. At court and in the imperial services, the Rajputs slowly lost the paramount position they had enjoyed in the time of Akbar and the earlier part of Jahangir's reign, to Persian and other trans-Indus adventurers, whose numbers and influence increased from Nur Jahan's ascendancy onwards. The Rajput position was somewhat bettered towards the end of Shahjahan's reign owing to the patronage of the liberal Crown Prince Dara, but they lost a good opportunity of strengthening their power and influence, by failing to support Dara steadily and sincerely. Yet in the earlier part of Aurangzeb's reign Jai Singh of Amber and Jaswant Singh of Mewar were measures of the importance of the Rajputs to the empire. But soon Aurangzeb introduced a vicious change in the Rajput policy of the empire to the great prejudice of its true interests. He first got rid of the powerful Raja Jai Singh of Amber, related to the royal family, and one of the most efficient state officials, by securing his poisoning in the Deccan (1667), chiefly because he did not like his and his son Ram Singh's friendly attitude towards Shivaji, and regarded him as a potential leader of Hindu opposition against his religious policy. Aurangzeb then turned to the next lofty head, Jaswant.

Besides strategic and economic considerations (of controlling certain military and commercial routes), Aurangzeb had a special reason for wanting to acquire the kingdom of Marwar. Its chief Jaswant Singh was the leading Hindu noble after the death or poisoning of Jai Singh of Amber (which was a great relief to the Emperor). Aurangzeb now suspected that the Marwar chief, who was once a partisan of the pro-Hindu Dara Shukoh, and besides had often shown little regard for loyalty (as in the succession war of 1659 or in the Deccan campaign of 1667), might use any of his weaker or less orthodox prospective successors for his own purposes and pose as the champion of the Hindus against his policy.

While in command of the Mughal frontier posts in the Khyber and the Peshawar district (whither he had been transferred in disgrace after his failure or disservice in the Deccan) Jaswant died (or was poisoned by order of Aurangzeb, according to Tod and Manucci) on 10th December, 1678. The Emperor immediately appointed Muslim officers as *faujdar*, *qiladar*, *kotwal* and *amin* of Marwar, and brought the whole country under direct Mughal rule, without much trouble, as the Rathors had been thrown into confusion and dismay by the death of Jaswant and failed at the moment to present a united national resistance. The Rathors were subjected to systematic and humiliating persecution at the hands of Mughals. Indra Singh, the chieftain of Nagor and grandson of Jaswant's brother Amar Singh, was made the nominal Raja of Marwar on payment of a succession fee of thirty-six lakhs of rupees, and Mughal officers were retained with him. Thus apparently Aurangzeb's policy triumphed. But in fact Marwar was far from being subdued. Every Rajput house in Marwar stood like a fort against this *coup de main*, and a new actor (Ajit Singh, the son of Jaswant) now entered the scene to disturb and eventually to defeat the imperial policy.[236]

In February 1679 two posthumous sons were born to Jaswant Singh at Lahore, one of whom died soon but the other named Ajit Singh was shortly taken to Delhi by his father's principal followers. The Rathor chiefs urged the Emperor to recognise the claims of Ajit Singh to the throne of Jodhpur. But the Emperor wanted to bring him up in his harem as a Mughal prince (a shrewd plan which he realised in the case of Shivaji's grandson Shahu ten years later), or according to another contemporary historian "the throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit on condition of his turning Muslim."[237] The

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[236] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 329.

[237] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

Rathor chiefs were seized with consternation at this extraordinary proposal of the Emperor. Everything dear to them,—their religion, king and country,—was in danger, and they therefore vowed to die to a man rather than submit to the humiliating conditions. Fortunately for them, they found a worthy leader in Durgadas, 'the flower of Rathor chivalry' to help them in this crisis.

Durgadas, a son of Jaswant's minister Askaran, is one of the immortal figures in the annals of the Rajputs. Gifted with extraordinary valour, he was religiously devoted to the royal house of Marwar. "Mughal gold could not seduce, Mughal arms could not daunt, that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rathors he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organizing power of a Mughal minister of state."[238] When the Emperor commissioned a strong force to seize the Ranis and the infant, a band of "death-loving Rajputs" made a wild charge on it; in the confusion thus created, Durgadas escaped with Ajit and with the Ranis clad as soldiers. He covered nine miles before he was overtaken. A small band of Rajputs under Ranchordas Jodha tried to hold back the Mughal pursuers but were defeated. Durgadas, however, managed to baffle all their attempts and safely arrived with Ajit and the Ranis at Jodhpur on 23rd July, 1679. In order to defeat Durgadas' plans Aurangzeb set up a milkman's infant as the true Ajit, and declared that the boy whom Durgadas had carried off to the Marwar capital was a bogus prince; he also dethroned Indra Singh for his inability to "rule fifty thousand Rathor blades."

Aurangzeb now speedily despatched a large force against Marwar under the command of Prince Akbar and Tahawwur Khan, the *faujdar* of Ajmer, and also himself proceeded to conduct the operations in person. The Rajputs were defeated and Marwar was divided into districts each of which was placed under a Mughal *faujdar*. "Jodhpur fell and was pillaged; and all the great towns in the plains of Mairta, Didwana, and Rohit, shared a similar fate."[239]

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[238] *Ibid.*, pp. 331-32.

But this wanton aggression and blind persecution forged an alliance between the desperate Rathors and the valiant Sisodias of Mewar. Since the time of Jahangir, the Rana of Mewar had remained friendly to the Mughal Empire, except on one occasion in the time of Shahjahan (1654). But now the forcible annexation of Marwar endangered the safety of Mewar as well. The Rana of Mewar was a near relative of Ajit as his mother was a Mewar princess. Besides, Aurangzeb's extreme measures of religious policy since 1669 throughout the empire and its dependencies and the re-imposition of the *Jaziya* tax on non-Muslims after 115 years[240] roused the indignation of Rana Raj Singh, who had something of the spirit of Kumbha, Sangram and Pratap in him. Thus he deemed it his duty, from all points of view, to stand by the Rathors against the empire that had chosen to crush its supporters.

Aurangzeb thereupon invaded Mewar as well with a large army. Considering it useless to stand before the superior artillery of the Mughals, the Rana abandoned the plains and retired into the hills, leaving the towns and hamlets of Mewar bare of provisions and riches. The Mughals occupied Udaipur and destroyed 173 temples in its environs, sixty-three at Chitor,

[239] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 336.

[240] Either Raj Singh, or Shivaji (with the advice of Nil Prabhu Munshi),—or both in consultation,—drew up in this connection a long, dignified and well-reasoned protest against Aurangzeb's policy towards Rajputs and Hindu subjects, contrasting it with that of Akbar, and describing the evil effects of Aurangzeb's measures that had already become clear. This document was something like a Hindu ultimatum preceding the Rajput and Maratha wars that now began not to end even with Aurangzeb's death.

and sixty-six even in Jaipur which was not at war. Satisfied that he was piling successes in this way, Aurangzeb now left for Ajmer for a respite, placing Chitor in charge of Prince Akbar. But Mewar presented geographical difficulties, which only the Pathans (who were at that time long in revolt) could control, and Prince Akbar also soon found himself outnumbered by the combined Rathors and Sisodias. The Rajputs, following the plan of Pratap and Shivaji (now a well-known hero), continued a guerilla warfare and harassed the Mughals in various ways. In May 1680, Prince Akbar was surprised by the Rajputs and suffered a heavy loss, a convoy of *Bunjaras* with 10,000 pack-oxen carrying provisions to his army being carried off. Faced with starvation the imperial army was completely demoralised. "Our army is motionless through fear," complained Prince Akbar. In Marwar also the Mughals achieved no better success than in Mewar.

Highly enraged at Prince Akbar's failure, the Emperor placed the command of the Chitor expedition in the hands of another son, Azam, and transferred Akbar to the Marwar front. But barren successes and narrow escapes from disaster (allowed by the unpractical military ethics of the Rajputs) were the share of all the princes employed, Akbar, Azam or Muazzam. Prince Akbar was learning by the experience of the wor the value of the Rajputs to the empire and their intrinsic worth as a heroic and honourable race; he dreamed of reconciling them to the empire by securing the throne for himself with Rajput help; and to realise that ambition (not an impolitic or unworthy one), he decided to enter into an alliance with the Rajputs against his father; "four theologians in his pay issued a decree over their seals, declaring that Aurangzeb had forfeited the throne by his violation of Islamic canon law."[241] He crowned himself Emperor (1st January, 1681) and gave high titles to his followers, his colleague in command, Tahawwur Khan, being created a premier noble and a commander of 7,000 horse. Aurangzeb, at that time almost destitute of troops, found himself in a critical position in his camp at Ajmer, and exclaimed: "I am now defenceless. The young hero has got a fine opportunity. Why then is he delaying his attack?" He first tried to win Akbar back by a letter full of promises and threats and violent abuse of the Rajputs. In reply Aurangzeb received a remarkably frank and reasoned 'grand remonstrance' from the prince, justifying his apparent treason, defending and appreciating the Rajputs, denouncing the oppressive and corrupt administration of his father, and mercilessly analysing and illustrating his character in its shady sides. Aurangzeb quietly swallowed this second dose of remonstrance, criticism and sarcasm (the first had been administered two years ago by Shivaji and Raj Singh), and he coolly planned the discomfiture and ruin of his son by trickery. If instead of resting satisfied at having dealt a literary blow at the Emperor, Akbar had taken prompt advantage of the "fine opportunity" his shrewder father had discerned, he could easily have defeated the small imperial bodyguard at Ajmer and taken the emperor captive; but he spent his time in idleness and untimely pleasures, and thus gave Aurangzeb the opportunity to prepare for the defence of Ajmer. Prince Muazzam joined his father, and other reinforcements also arrived. Akbar's easy chance was gone. When he was after all ready to begin an attack, his plans were frustrated by his father's guile: Aurangzeb succeeded in getting Tahawwur Khan murdered, and sent a false letter to Prince Akbar congratulating him for the success he had hitherto gained in carrying out his father's stratagem of luring all the Rajput fighters into a snare and bringing them within easy reach of the Emperor. As arranged by him, the letter fell into the hands of Durgadas, and the simple Rajputs at first suspected Akbar of treachery. His cause was greatly weakened in Rajputana, most of his Muslim followers escaped towards Aurangzeb's camp, and Akbar himself had to flee for his life. The spell of distrust was however soon broken and Durgadas and Jai Singh (Raj Singh's successor) were convinced of his innocence and sincerity; but by that time the chances of the alliance had become remote; yet with commendable chivalry they gave him shelter from Aurangzeb's vengeance, and evading all the attempts of Muazzam and other Mughal generals to overtake him, the Rathor chief safely conducted the fugitive prince through Khandesh and Baglana to the court of Shambhuji the Maratha king,—repeating his earlier exploit of 1679. If Shivaji had lived for a few years more beyond 1680, the flight of Akbar to Maharashtra would have been the beginning of a new history of India ; but Shambhuji, steeped in dissipation, was incapable of working out any great idea, and between Rajput simplicity and Maratha levity the dream of the Great Akbar's namesake, of an empire based on Hindu-Muslim reconciliation and amity, remained an idle one. About six years later, the disappointed prince left India for ever and went to Persia, where he died in 1704,—not however before he had made a last attempt to win the Delhi Empire by an invasion assisted by a Persian cavalry force 12,000 strong, which was repelled by Muazzam near Multan (April 1694).

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[241] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 357.

"Akbar's rebellion failed to change the sovereign of Delhi, but it brought unhoped-for relief to the Maharana (of Mewar)." Prince Bhim Singh entered Gujrat, raiding Wadnagar, Vishalnagar and some other places, and the Rana's finance minister Dayaldas ravaged Malwa, sacked Dhar, and seized a number of imperial elephants, camels, horses and cattle. But in spite of these temporary successes, recalling the days of Rana Kumbha's exploits, the " material consequences " of the war " were disastrous to the Maharana's subjects," as the Mughals often ravaged their corn-fields in the open tracts, and reduced them to starvation. As for the Mughals, their sufferings and losses were also great and yet these could not bring them any success against the Rajputs. So both sides wanted peace which was concluded (June 1681) through the mediation of Prince Azam. The Rana ceded to the empire the *parganas* of Mandal, Purand Bednore, in lieu of the re-imposed *jaziya*, and the Mughals withdrew from Mewar; Jai Singh was recognised as the Maharana and received a *mansab* of 5,000.

But Marwar had to carry on a " thirty years' war " (1679—1709) before it got peace on honourable terms. Shambhuji's activities in the Deccan diverted the attention of Aurangzeb and his principal commanders from the Rajput affairs, and " throughout the succeeding generation we find the Mughal hold on Marwar pulsating with the military situation in the Deccan. When a great enterprise or a heavy reverse forced the Mughals to draft more troops to the South, the Rajput nationalists sallied forth from their dens and struck heavy blows at the thinned Mughal outposts. When the pressure in the Deccan was relieved, reinforcements were pushed up into Rajasthan, and the Mughals recovered their lost positions." The Rathors continued a guerilla warfare under the able guidance of Durgadas and harassed the Mughals so much that some of their commanders were compelled to buy safety by paying *chauth* to them (as they did to the Marathas). The war dragged on till August 1709, when, two years after Aurangzeb's death Ajit Singh, born with the struggle, was acknowledged as the Rana of Marwar by Bahadur Shah.

The Rajput wars had ruinous effects on the Mughal Empire. They caused a heavy loss of men and money, and with all his efforts Aurangzeb failed to achieve any decisive success against two small revolted feudatory states. "Damaging as this result was to imperial prestige, its material consequences were worse still."[242] The devotion and valour of Rajput chieftains and soldiers were no longer available to the empire in its wasting struggles in the Deccan, or in its essential business of maintaining a strong hold over the frontier and trans-Indus provinces where the disaffected Afghan tribes were for long in a chronic state of revolt. The drying up of the stream of Man Singh's and Todar Mall's left the empire barren. Failure alike in war and in government " was the harvest that Jalal-ud-din Akbar's great-grandson reaped from sowing the wind of religious persecution and suppression of nationalities."

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[242] *Ibid.*, p. 373.

CHAPTER V

LATER MUGHALS AND BREAK-UP OF THE EMPIRE

AURANGZEB always apprehended that after him his successors would fight among themselves for the throne, and it is said that he left a will with directions for the partition of the empire among his three surviving sons[1] Muazzam (Shah Alam I or Bahadur Shah I), Muhammad Azam and Kambaksh. But his admonitions or will could not prevent the war of succession. His death on 3rd March, 1707 (in his camp at Ahmadnagar), was the signal for another civil war, and his three sons soon plunged themselves into bitter fratricidal struggles for the Imperial throne. The eldest of the three, Muazzam, was at that time Governor of Kabul, Azam of Gujrat, and Kambaksh of Bijapur. Before Muazzam could arrive from Kabul, Kambaksh "assumed all the attributes of sovereignty" but he could not leave the Deccan. Azam Shah also issued coins in his own name and marched towards Agra, while Muazzam Shah helped by a Sikh contingent sent by Guru Govind Singh (who thus probably sought to end the unfortunate Mughal-Sikh hostility through friendship with a comparatively generous successor of Aurangzeb), and by an able officer, Munim Khan, hurried from Kabul towards the same city, which contained " hoards of treasure." Muazzam's son Azim-us-Shan, who had been appointed Governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1696, came forward to help his father at Agra with 30,000 cavalry and eight crores of rupees.[2] The fort of Agra soon came under

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[1] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 6.

[2] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 410. This is an early instance of the economic 'drain' from Bengal Subah in the eighteenth century.

Muazzam Shah's control. He expressed a desire to share the empire with his brother, and sent a letter to Azam Shah asking him to follow the line of partition laid down by their father. But Azam Shah resolved to fight out his claim, and sent a rather haughty reply to his brother.[3] He was right, as the interests of the empire as an unity were higher than those of members of the dynasty, and precedent showed that the partitioning of Babar's empire, had led to speedy dissolution of it in a few years. The two brothers met at Jajau, a few miles from Agra, and Azam Shah was defeated and killed with his two sons, Bidar Bakht and Wala-jah, in June 1707. After an expedition to Rajputana, Muazzam, Bahadur Shah, marched to the Deccan, (accompanied by the Sikh Guru, Govind Singh, personally), where Kambaksh was defeated near Hyderabad and died of wounds early in 1708.

Bahadur Shah then formally ascended the throne and made appointments in the principal offices. Munim Khan became the chief minister. Asad Khan, the late Emperor's Wazir, who objected to this appointment, was offered the position of *Wakil-i-Mutlak* or Vice-Emperor, an office superior to that of the Wazir, though he lost practically all influence in the affairs of the state and retired. Bahadur Shah was a "man of mild and equitable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault."[4] Though not a great sovereign, he was successful in comparison with his successors, and he was able for some time to maintain the dignity of the empire. But he was overgenerous, for which he earned the nickname of *Shah-i-be-khabar*, the 'Heedless' King[5] and he was too old to save the declining empire. His death on the night of the 27th February, 1712, was followed by another war of succession among his four sons, Jahandar Shah, Azim-us-Shan, Jahan Shah (Khujistah Akhtar) and Rafi-us-Shan. Azim-us Shan was killed in a battle with the three others, who soon fell out amongst themselves. Jahan Shah and Rafi-us-Shan were next killed in battle, and Jahandar Shah secured the throne.

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[3] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 22; *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. I, p. 5.

[4] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 136.

[5] Owen, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 128.

Asad Khan remained, as during the reign of Bahadur Shah, *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* or Viceregent and his son Zulfiqar Khan became chief minister. Jahandar Shah "was an utterly degenerate representative of the house of Timur, Babar and Akbar. Frivolous, profligate, cruel and cowardly, servilely devoted to a favourite lady, Lal Kunwar, whose relatives he promoted wholesale to high honours, to the disgust of the old nobles and the able and experienced servants of the state, he soon became generally odius and despicable."[6] He was deposed after a reign of eleven months, and was strangled in the fort of Delhi by order of Azim-us-Shan's son Farrukhsiyar, who proclaimed himself Emperor (1713). The king-maker Zulfiqar Khan was also done to death. Farrukhsiyar owed his exaltation to the two brothers, Husain Ali, deputy governor of Patna, and Abdulla, governor of Allahabad, Barha Sayyids.[7] All powers soon passed into the hands of these two brothers. But Farrukhsiyar also tried to assert his independence, and so "his reign is throughout an agitated and perplexing one, ending in another Imperial tragedy."[8] The two Sayyid brothers indeed monopolised all power in the state, Abdulla Khan as Wazir or Prime Minister and Husain Ali as Commander-in-Chief of the army, though the burden of government fell upon the latter as the former was a soldier and was not qualified for a high ministerial post. But the Emperor neither possessed the real ability to deprive them of their influence nor was he content to allow the ministers to pursue their own way. He was " feeble, cowardly and contemptible " and " strong neither for evil nor for good."[9] He had " no resolution or discretion " of his own.[10] He soon fell under the influence of some of his anti-Sayyid friends, notably Mir Jumla, who went on fanning the flame of mutual discontent between him and his Sayyid ministers. The Sayyids became so much disgusted that they removed their master from the throne. The deposed Emperor was first blinded and then executed in an ignominous manner.[11]

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[6] Owen, p. 133. Lal Kunwar was a direct descendant of the famous Tansen, and was one of the chief court musicians and dancers.

[7] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 202.

[8] Owen, p. 138.

Contradictory opinions have been expressed on the conduct of the Sayyids in doing away with the Emperor in this way. On the one hand the Sayyids and the Shias defend their action as the only course which they could follow, while the rivals of the Sayyid brothers have greatly denounced their conduct. None of these two extreme views can be fully accepted. It was not, of course, an unjustifiable step on their part to remove such a worthless Emperor, whose treatment of his possible rivals had laid down a fresh precedent in the treatment of royal undesirables. But for men in the position of ministers of state " the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive; and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled-for."[12]

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[9] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 396.

[10] Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 442.

[11] Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 478; Irvine, Vol. I, pp. 391—94.

[12] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 395.

After the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers placed on the throne two phantom Emperors, Rafi-ud-Darajat and Rafi-ud-Daulah, of the imperial house (sons of Rafi-us-Shan). But they disappeared in the course of a few months, and the Sayyids set up another youth of eighteen, Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah and a grandson of Bahadur Shah. He came to the throne in 1719 as Muhammad Shah. The Sayyids wanted to " rule through the medium of an Imperial puppet." But Muhammad Shah was not very willing to remain under the control of the Sayyids, who had also created many enemies during the seven years of their power. The new Emperor found supporters among these enemies of the Sayyids, the ablest of whom was the leader of the Turani Party, the famous " Nizam-ul-Mulk " (Mir Qamar-ud-din, Chin Kilich Khan, son of a Samarqand adventurer serving in the Deccan). Husain Ali was assassinated while on his way towards Malwa to chastise the Nizam-ul-Mulk who as its Governor had been making preparation for rebellion and had disobeyed orders for his transfer. Abdulla tried to maintain his position by placing another puppet (Muhammad Ibrahim, another son of Rafi-us-Shan) on the throne (1720), but he was defeated (by Muhammad Amin Khan, cousin of the Nizam-ul-Mulk), imprisoned and subsequently poisoned in 1722. The new Wazir, Muhammad Amin Khan, died in 1721 and the Nizam-ul-Mulk was called to Agra to succeed him, but his temperament being his sovereign's opposite, he left the court and returned to the Deccan to make that Subah a kingdom of his own. The removal of the Sayyids and the exit of the Turani Party's leaders from the stage did not mean the increase of Muhammad Shah's power and prestige. "Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life, which entirely enervated the energy of the Empire."[13] Though his reign was a long one, and there were "some redeeming traits in his private character,"[14] yet "in utter unconcern he left the affairs drift in their own way, and the consequence was most fatal."[15] Province after province like the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal passed away definitely from his control; the Marathas established their authority over a large part of the empire; the Jats near Agra became independent; the Sikhs became turbulent in the Punjab; the Rohilla Afghans settled in the North Gangetic plain and founded the state of Rohilkhand; and the Persian inroad of 1738-39 inflicted a terrible blow on the destiny of the tottering empire.

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[13] *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. III, p. 28I.

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah, not properly schooled in early days, fond of the company of vulgar persons and addicted to base sensual pleasures, often "used to seek diversion in childish acts of sovereignty."[16] Naturally he lacked the courage and ability needed to overcome the formidable dangers encircling him on all sides. Growing disorder in and outside the court, as a result of his own inefficiency and bitter quarrels of rival party cliques, brought down the Mughal Crown to the lowest level of degradation. Imad-ul-Mulk, a grandson of the first Nizam-ul-Mulk of the Deccan and a leader of one of these cliques, not only terrorised the Emperor and his family with the help of his Maratha allies but also even after his appointment as the Wazir, deposed Ahmad Shah in June 1754.[17] Just before Ahmad Shah's deposition Aziz-ud-Daulah, son of Jahandar Shah, who had been so long in confinement, was released and set up on the throne as Alamgir II. But the new Emperor "found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne as he was formerly in his confinement."

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[14] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 9.

[15] *Journal of Indian History*, August 1929, p. 191. For further details, *vide* Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Chapter I.

[16] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 330.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 543-44.

He tried to extricate himself from the control of the Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din but he lacked the capacity to do it and his attempt only brought ruin upon himself; he was treacherously murdered by the Wazir's orders on 29th November, 1759. The next Emperor Ali Gauhar, Shah Alam II, was greatly afraid of the perfidious Wazir and led a wandering life for many years moving from one place to another. Shah Alam, " had he even abilities to rule, had now no subjects left to command; for he may be considered as the image of a king, set up by way of insult in the midst of the ruins of his capital." During his long life (blinded 1788, died 1806), in a " world that was out of joint—morally even more than politically." he went through many vicissitudes of fortune. For some time he placed himself under the protection of the Marathas, who thereby again became the paramount power in India for a time; he led three expeditions to Bengal and Bihar and helped Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh in the battle of Buxar but failed to check the growth of the new English power in the Gangetic region, and acknowledged it. He was blinded by the Rohillas and finally came under the English protection. He lived as a pensioner of the English and died in 1806. His son Akbar II lived at Delhi with Imperial title only till 1837. The dynasty was finally extinguished with Bahadur Shah II, who was suspected of helping the Sepoy rebels and was deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862.

The weakness and decline, of the Imperial authority at Delhi gave birth to different parties within the Empire, the leaders of each striving hard for self-aggrandisement and personal supremacy. Party factions fomented by the ambitious designs of the nobles are always prejudicial to the interests of a state, and in the absence of a strong central authority the Mughal state was torn up in the midst of general civil war, treacherous conspiracies, assassinations and barbarities. It is true that the feeble and vacillating character of the Emperors was also partly responsible for this. They had not the force of character to govern themselves, nor had they the judgment to choose worthy men as their officers and ministers whom they could trust and support. They constantly changed their opinions according to the advice of selfish and depraved eunuchs and flatterers; and they often tried to remove their old ministers with the hope of getting better support from their servile successors. It was natural that when the "Emperor was a sluggard or a fool, he ceased to be the master and guide of the nobility. They then naturally turned to win the controlling authority at Court or in the provinces."[18]

There were two principal parties into which the nobles were divided. Those who were born in India or had long settled in the country formed the Hindustani or Indo-Muslim Party. Most of the Afghan nobles and the Sayyids of Barha as well as Khan-i-Dauran, whose ancestors came from Badakhshan, regarded themselves as natives of India and belonged to this party. They depended greatly on the help of their Hindu friends. The foreign nobles of diverse origins were all indiscriminately called Mughals and they were subdivided into two groups according to the land of their birth. The nobles from Transoxiana and other parts of Central Asia, who were mostly Sunnis, formed the Turani Party. Muhammad Amin Khan and his cousin Chin Qilich Khan better known as the Nizam-ul-Mulk were the most important members of this group. Those who came from Persian territories and were Shias formed the Irani Party. Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan were the most prominent members of this party. The members of none of these factions had any common principle of work or firm obligations to parties like those of modern political parties. Thus we find that during the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan maintained the ascendancy of the Irani Party. Then since Farrukhsiyar's accession the Hindustani Party became powerful under the leadership of the Sayyid brothers and with the help of the Turani Party. Next the Hindustani Party was deprived of power by a combination of the Turanians and the Iranians. If the Hindustani Party had stood for Hindustan over all, it could have saved India from disruption with its Hindu supporters but the opportunity was lost, hardly realised.

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[18] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 311—13.

These party factions created nothing but disorder and anarchy and the whole machinery of Imperial administration became utterly corrupted and inefficient.

Maintenance of law and order is the supreme test of a state, and the basis of its further political progress. It is thus natural that the Mughal " Government which could not maintain order at home was still less likely to command respect abroad."

That respect indeed had hardly ever been enjoyed by the Mughals: to Central and West-Asiatic princes and peoples Babar was no more than a dispossessed exile lucky enough to find a home in India, the land of easy conquests; Humayun was no more than a fugitive whom Persia was pleased to help on to winning an Indian kingdom; Akbar commanded some respect as conqueror and efficient ruler of Afghanistan; but Jahangir and Shahjahan by their failures at Qandahar and beyond the Hindukush against Persia and Central-Asiatic princes and peoples, thoroughly exposed the growing inefficiency of Mughal military system, while its extravagant expenditure roused their cupidity; Aurangzeb neglected the North-West leaving Delhi for the South, concentrating his forces on the Rajputs, the Marathas and the Deccan States so that the Frontier Tribes found it easy to continue in a state of rebellious defiance, endangering communications with Kabul, while sullen discontent was growing in the Punjab with the persecution of the Sikhs and the Jats to burst into open hostilities during Bahadur Shah and Farrukhsiyar. This weakening of hold on the North-Western Provinces, the disaffection in the Punjab, the alienation from Rajput military power, the failure against the Marathas, and Maratha advance towards the North from 1719 onwards, could not have escaped the notice of the Persians, who already held the advanced post of Qandahar by annexation from the Mughal territories. But for some years yet the inevitable Persian invasion of the Mughal Empire could not take place, for Persia herself (together with much of Western Afghanistan) was involved in internal revolutions from 1721 to 1736; after 1736 Persia under Nadir was free to turn to India waiting as it were to be attacked and plundered. Muhammad Shah had failed to take proper measures for guarding the North-West Frontier; the whole of Afghanistan was in a defenceless condition; Kabul was in the midst of disorder under its "simple-minded and indolent" governor Nasir Khan, and his repeated appeals to the Imperial Court for money to pay the troops passed unheeded, because of the machinations of Khan-i-Dauran, the rival of Roshan-ud-Daulah, Nasir Khan's patron at the Delhi Court. Ghulam Husain, a contemporary historian, observes: "The roads and passes being neglected, everyone passed and repassed, unobserved, no intelligence was forwarded to Court of what was happening; and neither Emperor nor Minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears."[19] Equally wretched was the condition of the province of the Punjab. Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore and Multan, was a good administrator, but as he belonged to the Turani Party, his attempts to protect the province against rebels, robbers and foreign invasions were foiled by the members of the Hindustani Party, who then enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor. Thus the task of the invader was rendered easier.

The famous Nadir Shah of Persia was born in a humble family. His early life was stained with many dark deeds; but the schooling of hardships and privations had given him an indomitable energy, a fiery valour and great ability. He came into prominence during the period of disorder that followed the usurpation of Persia[20] by the Afghans. He delivered Persia from the hands of the Afghans and entered into the service of its restored lawful ruler Shah Tahmasp, son of the deposed Shah Husain, in 1727. But his new master proved an incompetent ruler and was deposed in 1732. In 1736 Nadir himself became king after the death of the infant son of Shah Tahmasp.

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[19] Siyar, Vol. I, p. 300.

From this time Nadir Shah assumed the rôle of a conqueror and he began his advance towards India in 1738. Nadir Shah got a pretext for his advance towards India in the alleged violation of promises by Muhammad Shah and detention and ill-treatment of his envoys at the Mughal Court. The practically defenceless frontier and weak resistance of the Mughal Governors enabled Nadir Shah to capture Peshawar and Lahore without much trouble. After a slight resistance, Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore, surrendered himself to the invader and the whole of the Punjab was subjected to ruin and disorder. " The whole province was in complete revolution. Every person put forth his hand to plunder and pillage, and some thousands of robbers beset the public roads."[21]

The ease-loving Emperor and the selfish nobles of his court, whose proceedings during Nadir's invasion " form a tale of disgraceful inefficiency amounting to imbecility," shook off their lethargy only when the Persians were within a hundred miles of Delhi. The imperial forces marched forward to oppose Nadir's advance, and encamped at Karnal, a city twenty miles north of Panipat. In February 1739, the imperial troops were defeated by Nadir's army. The vanquished Emperor sued for peace by sending the Nizam-ul-Mulk to Nadir's camp. The Nizam settled with Nadir that his army would advance no further and return to Persia " on being promised a war indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees, out of which twenty lakhs were to be paid then and there, ten lakhs on reaching Lahore, ten lakhs at Attock, and the remaining ten lakhs at Kabul." The Emperor visited Nadir's camp and dined with him, and prospects were bettering. But Saadat Khan, who became jealous of the Nizam's appointment as Bakhshi, incited Nadir to demand more from the Emperor, and while a terrible famine stared the Mughal camp in the face, Nadir revised his demand to one of twenty crores of rupees as indemnity, and pressed the Nizam-ul-Mulk to write to the Emperor to visit the Persian camp again to settle matters. Considering that resistance to Nadir would produce greater troubles, the Emperor revisited Nadir's camp only to be imprisoned there, with his followers. With this captivity of the Emperor, " the key for opening the whole empire of Hindustan came into the hands of Nadir."[22] A few days after this the city of Delhi fell under Nadir's control, and Nadir entered it with the vanquished and captive Emperor.

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[20] In 1722 Shah Husain Safavi, the last of the Safavi line, was defeated by the Afghans, who then began to rule over Persia.

[21] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 334.

The feeble great-grandson of Aurangzeb submitted in humiliation to the victor, who occupied Shahjahan's own palace-chambers by the Diwan-i-Khas. At first things proceeded quietly enough, but a rumour about Nadir's death, started by some mischief-makers, created a tumult in the midst of which some of his soldiers were slain. Nadir tried to suppress the rising, but the loss of his soldiers enraged him highly and he took revenge by ordering a general massacre of the inhabitants. The slaughter lasted from 9 in the morning till 2 in the afternoon. " Within the doomed areas, the houses were looted, all the men killed without regard for age and all the women dragged into slavery. The destroyers set fire to many houses and several of their victims, both dead and wounded, Hindus and Mohammedans, were indiscriminately burnt together."[23] The sufferings of the people knew no bounds. They were practically blockaded within the city suffering from famine and cruelties at the hands of Nadir's soldiers. He ordered the granaries to be sealed up, placed guards over them, and sent detachments to plunder the villages. The Emperor had to make over all his crown jewels, including the famous diamond Koh-i-nur and the valuable Peacock Throne of Shahjahan. The nobles were divested of their wealth and a further heavy contribution of about two crores was forcibly realized from the starving citizens of Delhi. As estimated by Nadir's own secretary, he realised at Delhi the total indemnity of fifteen crores of rupees in cash besides a vast amount in jewels, apparel, furniture and other valuables from the imperial storehouse.[24] Besides these,[25] he took away with him 300 elephants, 10,000 horses, and the same number of camels. Muhammad Shah was formally replaced on the throne but the trans-Indus provinces (Sindh, Kabul and the Western parts of the Punjab) were transferred to the Persian Emperor. Thus, deprived of the accumulated treasures of his predecessors, with a vital part of his Empire surrendered to foreigners, and with unpatriotic and disaffected nobles engaged in ignoble strifes at the Court, Muhammad Shah's prestige sank lower still, low as it had been before.

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[24] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 371. The editor of the work notes that Frazer's estimate of seventy crores "is clearly an exaggeration."

[25] The famous illustrated Persian manuscript on Hindu Music written by command of Emperor Muhammad Shah and lately recovered by Maharaja Tagore in London formed part of his plunder.

Three hundred and forty years ago India had suffered from a similar calamity, the invasion of Timur. Then too Delhi went through the same orgy of fire and sword, massacre and plunder, extortion and dishonour but as a state Delhi could revive to some extent and continue through several changes of mediocre ruling families; for Timur's destructive work ceased with his death and between him and his descendant and successor in his Indian adventure a century and a quarter elapsed. But " the Abdali and his dynasty continued Nadir's work in India as the heir to his Empire,"[26] and after Nadir's invasion had left the Mughal Empire practically dismembered, " bleeding and prostrate," no time was given it to heal and try to rise.

After Nadir was assassinated in June 1747, one of his officers named Ahmad Shah, an Afghan chief of the Abdali clan, succeeded in establishing his authority in the eastern portions of Nadir's dominions and repeated his master's exploits in India several times. Shortly before the death of Muhammad Shah (1748) he led his first invasion and captured Lahore and Sarhind. But he was defeated at the battle of Manupur (March 1748) by an imperial army under Prince Ahmad and Muin-ul-Mulk, son of the recently deceased Wazir Qamar-ud-Din and was forced to retreat. Muin-ul-Mulk was appointed Subahdar of Lahore. Hardly had Muin-ul-Mulk been able to establish his position fully, Ahmad Shah Abdali started in his second invasion of India in the autumn of 1749. Muin was defeated and compelled to make peace in February 1750 by promising to pay 14 lakhs of rupees a year as the surplus revenue of Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujrat and Aurangabad, which had been assigned by Muhammad Shah to Nadir Shah. Thus the Afghan invader " got the first slice of India proper."[27]

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[26] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 377.

[27] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 417—19.

The Punjab continued to suffer from turmoil, caused mostly by the raids of the Sikhs who had already begun to revive,[28] and it was not possible for Muin to remit to the Abdali the annual tribute promised by the treaty of 1750. This brought upon India the third invasion of the Abdali in December 1751. After fruitless attempts to resist him, Muin at last surrendered. Lahore and Multan were ceded to the Afghan king, who left Muin as his governor at Lahore.

After the death of Muin in November 1753, the province of the Punjab was plunged into utter chaos owing largely to the sinister influence of Mughlani Begam, the regent-mother of its infant governor Muhammad Amin Khan. At the request of Mughlani Begam, the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk marched to the Punjab (1756), which was coveted by him too. Mughlani's object was not fulfilled, as the Wazir could not tolerate her actions and got her captured. Mir Munim, "the leading nobleman of Lahore," was appointed by him governor of the Punjab. This state of things drew upon India the fousth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in November 1756. The Afghan king entered Delhi in January 1757, which was plundered and whose unhappy inhabitants were "again subjected to pillage." In fact, the agony of the city under the weight of Afghan oppression and extortion for realization of money was very acute,[29] and some other parts of the country were also subjected to terrible atrocities at the hands of the Afghan soldiers. In utter helplessness Imad-ul-Mulk submitted to the invader who forced the Mughals to cede to him formally the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and the Sarhind district. After having plundered the country of the Jats, south of Delhi, the Abdali retired from India in April 1757 with several crores of rupees and many captives. His son Timur Shah was left in Lahore as viceroy with Sardar Jahan Khan, an able general of his father, as his Wazir-guardian.

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 419—27.

[29] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 98—103; *Siyar*, Vol. III, p. 379.

But Timur's administration soon broke down owing to a variety of causes, and by April 1758 the Maratha invaders of the Punjab expelled the Afghans therefrom. This was too much for Ahmad Shah Abdali to tolerate. He invaded India for the fifth time in October 1759, which soon resulted in the final loss of the Punjab for the empire of Delhi. In view of the Afghan push towards Hindustan and the Maratha dash into the North of India, a more serious clash between the two lay almost in the logic of facts. This was not long to come. The two met in a contest in the field of Panipat in January 1761, which produced disastrous consequences for the Marathas.[30] Before leaving India, the Abdali instructed the Indian chiefs to recognise Shah Alam II as Emperor of Delhi; Imad-ul-mulk being reappointed Wazir and Najib-ud-Daulah Mir Bakhshi were asked to work whole-heartedly for the interest of their master by sinking their mutual differences, which they failed to do. Najib in fact remained as the dictator of the Delhi Empire for the next ten years. As its regent, the Abdali wanted to retain for himself the Punjab from the Sutlej westwards, and the punctual remittance of the annual tribute of 40 lakhs of rupees from Delhi.

The Afghan hold over the Punjab was, however, soon challenged by the revived Sikh power. Ahmad Shah Abdali therefore again came to Lahore in March 1764, but he had to return after a fortnight's stay to remove some internal troubles in his own country. He invaded India for the last time in 1767 but was at last worn out in his contest with "a nation in arms,"[31] the Sikhs, and he had to retire soon "with a consciousness of his ultimate failure" to meet some troubles in his own kingdom in Afghanistan. He left Delhi in disorder and confusion and the Mughal Empire was now gradually nearing its end. Lahore and the entire open country in the Punjab fell under Sikh control soon after his departure. The disorders caused by his repeated inroads indirectly helped the rise of the Sikh power, though Maratha imperialism received a rude shock as a result of his victory of 1761.

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[30] *Vide* later.

[31] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, 500-01.

While the emperors became puppets in the hands of ambitious nobles and lost authority in their own capital, the inevitable centrifugal tendency began to work in the different parts of the Empire. The provincial governors soon freed themselves from Imperial control and became virtually independent princes and founders of local dynasties, though pretending a theoretical allegiance to the phantom Mughal Emperor. Of these the most prominent were the Subahdars of Oudh, of Bengal and of the Deccan. The jurisdiction of the Subahdar of Oudh extended not only over Oudh as now known but also over Benares to the east of it, a good part of the territory to its west, and some districts near Allahabad and Cawnpore. The Deccan Subah at first comprised the conquered Deccan sultanates[32] together with the Carnatic (being part of Vijayanagar conquered by Mir Jumla under Golconda) and also Berar, Khandesh, Malwa and for a time Gujrat. But Maratha expansion, almost from the moment of the formation of the Subah, gradually sliced off district after district from it in the West and North, while the Carnatic grew presently into a separate unit. The Bengal Subah included the three sub-provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Saadat Khan, who came of a Persian family from Khorasan, was the founder of the Kingdom of Oudh. He had been originally appointed Faujdar of Biana, about sixty miles south-west of Agra, and joined in the Turani conspiracy to assassinate

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[32] *Vide* Ch. 4, Sec. 4.

Sayyid Husain Ali Khan. He quarrelled with some of the favourite nobles of Muhammad Shah's Court, and was therefore sent away from Court as Governor of Oudh in 1724. This proved a boon, and he rapidly rose into power; he was recalled to Delhi at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion[33] but committed suicide the same year. He was succeeded in the government of Oudh by his nephew and son-in-law, Safdar Jang, who was also appointed Wazir (prime minister of the Emperor) in 1748. In spite of opposition from Asaf Jah's son and grandson, Safdar Jang retained the office till sometime before his death in 1754. His son Shuja-ud-Daulah, who succeeded him in Oudh and also became the Wazir, is an important figure in the history of Northern India from 1754—1775 and his activities will be noted mainly in connection with the Third Battle of Panipat and the Battle of Buxar.

Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, appointed Governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1703, had made himself practically independent of the central authority at Delhi. After the death of that Emperor he transferred the capital from Dacca to Murshidabad (named after him), while he continued to send regular tributes to Delhi. He was a strong and vigorous ruler, though sometimes oppressive in realising revenues from the Hindu zamindars.[34] He tried to prevent the abuse of 'dustucks' by the servants of the English East India Company, and to realise from them the same duties as were paid by the other native and foreign merchants. This led the Company to apply for and secure the *Firman* of 1716-1717[35] from the Delhi Emperor. Murshid Quli died in June 1727 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja-ud-Din. Though steeped in luxury and fond of splendour, he had some ability and consideration. After his death in 1739, his son Sarfaraz Khan became the Nawab of Bengal. But Sarfaraz soon fell a victim to a conspiracy planned by Haji Ahmad and his brother Alivardi Khan, the rayrayan Alamchand and the Jagat Seth Fateh Chand. Alivardi marched out from Bihar (where he was deputy-governor) and met Sarfaraz in the field of Giria, where the latter was defeated and slain. To justify his usurpation, Alivardi took care to secure an imperial patent and sent some presents to the Emperor (Muhammad Shah). With some preliminary official changes in keeping with the patent he began to rule independently, and proved himself an able administrator. He took a keen interest in the economic affairs of the state and tried to prevent the increasing abuse of ' dustuck ' by the English East India Company's servants. His conduct towards the European traders was, on the whole, impartial, though he was compelled by extraordinary circumstances to realise contributions from them.[36] Ghulam Husain speaks in high terms about him: "A prudent, keen and a valorous soldier, there are hardly any qualifications, which he did not possess."[37] But he was not destined to enjoy peacefully the Nawabship, which he had gained by deceit and conspiracy.[38] The repeated invasions of the Marathas from year to year throughout his rule, and the rebellions of the Afghans of Darbhanga gave him practically no rest. The treacherous assassination of the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit at Mankarah (near Kassimbazar) by Alivardi did not put an end to his troubles, as the Maratha incursions continued as vigorously as before. He had to conclude a treaty (1751) with them by which he agreed to pay an annual tribute of twelve lakhs as *chauth* and ceded the revenues of a part of Orissa to the Marathas. Thus was laid the foundation of Maratha control over Orissa. These Maratha ravages exercised a pernicious influence on the social and economic life of the people of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[39] Alivardi died in April 1756 and was succeeded by his daughter's son Mirza Muhammad, later known as Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah, whose regime forms a turning-point in the history of the country.

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[33] *Vide* ante.

[34] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 422.

[35] *Vide* Vol. II.

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[36] K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. V, pp. 273—93.

[37] *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 162.

[38] It should be noted that it was Alivardi who sowed the seeds the bitter fruits whereof became the inheritance of his grandson Siraj-ud-Daulah.

The Deccan Subah also became practically independent of Imperial control under Chin Kilich Khan (Nizam-ul-Mulk). His grandfather Khwaja Abid Shaikh-ul-Islam of Bukhara took service with Aurangzeb about the middle of the seventeenth century and his father Ghazi-ud-Din Firuz Jang held several important posts in the Empire. Chin Kilich Khan also held various posts in different parts of the Empire till the year 1713 when he was made the Governor of the Deccan as a reward for his espousing the cause of Farrukhsiyar.[40] From the very beginning of his career in the Deccan he tried to check the power of the Marathas by stopping the payment of *chauth* and by instigating the disaffected Maratha nobles[41] against Shahu. Owing to intrigues at the Delhi Court he was recalled from his office in the Deccan by the end of 1713 and Sayyid Husain Ali was appointed in his place. After the fall of the Sayyid brothers the Nizam-ul-Mulk again became master of the six Subahs of the Deccan towards the end of 1720, and commenced his operations against the growing Maratha power. But just the next year he received an Imperial summons to return to Delhi at once and in February 1722 " he was appointed Wazir and received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen case and a diamond ring of great value."[42] But his enemies poisoned the Emperor Muhammad Shah's mind against him[43] and he left Delhi for the Deccan.[44] The governorship of the Deccan had been in the meanwhile conferred on Mubariz Khan. The new governor had alienated the Marathas by his hostile proceedings. The Nizam-ul-Mulk, therefore, obtained their help and defeated and killed Mubariz Khan in the battle of Shakhar Kheda (October 11. 1724).[45] The Nizam-ul-Mulk was thereupon deprived of the Wazirat and governorship of Malwa and Gujrat but he was or had to be confirmed in the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1725) on which he henceforth concentrated his attention. "From this period may be dated the Nizam-ul-Mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad State. Henceforth he bestowed offices in the Dakhin; he made promotions in rank, conferred titles and issued assignments in the land revenue at his own will and pleasure."[46] Khafi Khan lavishes much praise on the Nizam-ul-Mulk's strong administration of the Deccan[47] and Ghulam Husain also remarks: "It is such an extensive tract (the Deccan Subah) that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and thirty years."[48] He realised that the pretensions of the growing Maratha power were incompatible with the establishment of his own authority in the Deccan, and there began therefore a quarrel between him and the Marathas which lasted for more than a decade, but ultimately "in August, 1731, Baji Rao and the Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand—the Nizam was to be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the South. the Peshwa in the North."[49] At the time of Nadir's invasion the Nizam was called by the Delhi Emperor to negotiate the terms of a compromise with Nadir Shah. Though successful at first in bringing about a fair agreement considering the plight, he failed to comply with Nadir Shah's increasing demands instigated by his rival the Oudh Nawab, and was imprisoned by Nadir. After Nadir's departure from India he retired at the age of 82 for good to the Deccan, where domestic troubles kept him busy till his death (at 91) in 1748.[50] After this the Deccan succession question gave further opportunities (already afforded by the Carnatic succession) to the European powers to fish in the troubled waters of the South.

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[39] K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, pp. 116—18.

[40] Irvine, Vol. I, pp. 268—72.

[41] Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 450-51.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 518.

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[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 523.

[45] *Journal of Indian History*, August 1929, p. 198.

[46] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 154; Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 527.

[47] Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 530.

[48] *Siyar*, Vol. III, p. 283.

[49] Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, Vol. II, p. 212.

The decline of the Mughal Empire was synchronous with a Hindu revival manifesting itself in the disaffection of the Hindu subjects in general and in the attempts of the hitherto subordinate Hindu powers, the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats to assert their own independence and to extend their territories and political influence. This revival, indeed, had its birth 370 years ago, in 1336, when after the high-water mark of Muslim advance in India had been reached, the ebb-tide began with the Hindu recovery of the South by Vijayanagar; thenceforward on the whole Islam steadily lost ground in India till 1526, as much by the break-up and mediocrity of the Delhi Empire and rise of Hindu states, as by Hindu religious and cultural revival and interaction of Hindu and Muslim civilizations. Even during the period 1526—1707, this lost ground could not fully be regained, for Babar's and Humayun's empire was only a piece of foreign Muslim adventure at the cost of Indian Muslims and on the point of being foiled by the Rajputs,—and it was lost by the rising of the former, while it could only be re-established firmly by the support of the latter; in fact Akbar's reign is more a period of Hindu revival than of Muslim advance. With Jahangir this tendency was checked; the cause of Islam began to gain with Shahjahan, and Aurangzeb was plainly determined to recover the last ground from the Hindus. But even then, weighing ultimate gains and losses, we find that Aurangzeb failed entirely in stemming the ebb-tide in the fortunes of Islam in India that had begun so long ago; he only succeeded in importing a certain bitterness (which was not much in evidence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) to this inevitable trial of strength between two historical forces working in the same country. It would not, however, be quite correct to suppose that in this eighteenth-century Hindu revival there was much of a native all-India nationalism or a religious and cultural renaissance. Even Shivaji's comparatively narrow ideal of a Hindu empire was lost sight of by his successors in the eighteenth century. Except very occasionally the Hindu princes and peoples did not act in concert, and among the Marathas (as among the Rajputs) mutual rivalry and jealousy of the leaders was very prominent, while the interests of their fellow-men, the Hindu masses, were over being sacrificed by them at the altar of ambition and greed.

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[50] *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 318.

At the suggestion of Zulfiqar Khan, Azam Shah released Shivaji II, better known as Shahu in 1707, in order to create a division among the Marathas. Owing to internal quarrels in Maharashtra it was not possible for the Marathas to plan an aggressive warfare against the Mughals with the deliberate determination of founding an empire just after the death of Aurangzeb.[51] Tara Bai refused to acknowledge the claims of Shahu and a protracted civil war ensued in which Shahu ultimately triumphed with the help and advice of a Chitpavan Brahmana from the Konkan, Balaji Viswanath.

Balaji Viswanath was born in poverty. In 1708 he was employed as Carcoon or revenue clerk by Dhanaji Jadave, the

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[51] Sinha, *The Rise of the Peshwas*, p. vii; Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Senapati or Commander-in-Chief of Shahu.[52] After the death of Dhanaji, he was associated with his son Chandra Sena Jadave, who in 1712 gave him the title of *Sena Karte* or "agent in charge of the army."[53] Thus a Brahmana clerk changed his pen for the sword and appeared many a time in fields of battle. He gave proof of his civil and military abilities and rendered brilliant services to Shahu, who appointed him Peshwa, in place of Bhairo Pant Pingley, on 16th November, 1713. Theoretically, the Pratinidhi was superior to the Peshwa, but by dint of their abilities Balaji Viswanath and his son Baji Rao I made the Peshwa the actual head of the Maratha Empire.

The disturbed politics of the Mughal Empire gave the Marathas a good opportunity for enhancing their power. With the support of Zulfiqar Khan they could extort some concessions from Bahadur Shah, and Daud Khan Punni promised to pay the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* to Shahu, though it was arranged that these were to be collected and paid by his officer Hiraman. But it was in the time of Farrukhsiyar that the Marathas secured a decided position of advantage. When Husain Ali came to the Deccan, he was harassed by the Marathas in several indecisive engagements. The Emperor (Farrukhsiyar) encouraged the Marathas against Husain Ali,[54] who, therefore, changed his plans and made overtures for a peace with the Marathas by sending as his envoy Sankaraji Malhar, who had been the Sachiv in the reign of Raja Ram,[55] but had later on entered the Mughal Imperial Service and was then in the camp of Husain Ali. Through his efforts a treaty was concluded on the following terms: (1) All the territories belonging to Shivaji and lost to the Mughals were to be restored to Shahu, and the provinces of Khandesh, Gondwana, Berar, and the districts in Hyderabad and Karnatak, conquered by the Marathas, were to be added to them. (2) The *chauth* and the *sardeshmukhi* over the six Subahs of the Deccan were to be assigned to Shahu who in return was to maintain 15,000 horse for the Emperor's service and to pay an annual tribute of ten lakhs of rupees, and preserve peace and order in the six Subahs of the Deccan.[56] Besides these, Shahu was to share the *abwabs* or additional cesses, called Faujdari, Shikkdari, Ziyafat, etc.[57] This treaty has been rightly regarded as "a landmark in Maratha History."[58] By it the Marathas were practically recognised "as co-partners in the revenues of the Imperial provinces, and, as a corollary, in political power there."[59] Altogether half the total government revenues in Central and Peninsular India were placed at the disposal of Shahu besides an important sovereign right, namely, the right of preserving peace and order with a considerable armed force.

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[52] Grant Duff, Vol. I, pp. 418-19.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

[54] Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 464.

[55] Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 33.

To foil the designs of the anti-Sayyid Party, which had then become ascendant at the Delhi Court, Husain Ali marched there with his new allies the Marathas and by deposing and blinding the ungrateful and conspiring Emperor Farrukhsiyar (28th February, 1719) placed Rafi-ud-Darajat on the throne. The new Emperor, a puppet in his hands, confirmed the treaty already arranged between Husain Ali and Shahu.

This journey of the Marathas to Delhi to take part in the attractive business of King-making "is a momentous episode in their history." Besides immediate advantages, they saw with their own eyes the rotten state of the Mughal Empire, once surrounded with a halo of power and glory. The descendants of Babar and Akbar were now mere state-prisoners in the hands of ambitious courtiers, to be exhibited or done away with as policy or prudence required. "The prestige of their presence at the imperial capital, not as mercenaries, but as the allies and supporters of the King-makers, held out to them a promise that they might some day make and unmake Emperors. Indeed, it was the surest basis on which Balaji Viswanath could confidently build his policy of founding a Maratha Empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire."[60] To realise his ambition Balaji Viswanath also tried to secure the alliance of the Rajputs in the North. In the South, the Nizam-ul-Mulk reluctantly acquiesced in the claims of the Marathas to a share of revenues and power, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. The revival of the *jagir* system in the days of Raja Ram had given the Maratha adventurers opportunities for carving out independent principalities for themselves. Balaji Viswanath assigned separate areas to the different Maratha officers for collecting the *chauth* and the *sardeshmukhi*. This added to their power and they often participated in the quarrels of the Muslim nobles as paid partisans.

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[56] *Ibid.* To this may be traced the origin of the British policies of Subsidiary Alliance and Imperial Service Troops.

[57] Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. II, p. 467.

[58] *Vide* note 55.

[59] Owen, p. 146.

After Balaji's death his son Baji Rao was invested with the office of the Peshwa on the 17th April. 1720, in spite of the opposition of a hostile party led by the Pratinidhi Sripat Rao. Baji Rao was an able soldier and statesman. He boldly advocated the forward policy of Maratha expansion in the North (beyond the Narbada) in the teeth of opposition from a party which urged Shahu to consolidate his power in the Deccan before venturing on northern conquests. The latter were probably in the right,—for by leaving the Peninsula for the Northern 'push,' a hostile Muslim power was left in the rear to prove a continuous drag on resources, opportunity was given to the rise of another such power even stronger, in Mysore, and the field was prepared for the internecine Peninsular struggles taking advantage of which the French and then the English rose to political power in India. What the Marathas lost by this policy of neglecting the consolidation of the South was gained ultimately by the English (the French and Mysore failing). But for the time being certain considerations led Baji Rao away from the less glamorous work of sound empire-building. He saw that the days of the Mughal Empire were numbered, and that there could not be a more favourable time for establishing the supremacy of the Marathas over it. Bold and imaginative, he suggested to Shahu, " Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree (the Mughal Empire); the branches will fall off themselves. Thus should the Maratha flag fly from the Kristna to the Indus."[61] Baji Rao rightly realised that he must secure the alliance of the Rajputs and other Hindu Chiefs for this object. To evoke Hindu sympathy, he preached the ideal of ' Hindu Pad Padshahi ' or Hindu Empire. Thus there were, as Prof. Sinha writes, two decisive factors in the successful execution of Baji Rao's policy—" the first was the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire; the second was the friendliness of the Rajputs."[62]

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[60] Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 41.

In spite of the activities of an opposition party at home and of the Nizam-ul-Mulk in his rear, Baji Rao proceeded to give effect to his policy of aggression in the North.[63] In December 1723, he entered Malwa at the head of a large army, defeated the Mughal Governor Sayyid Bahadur Shah and captured the capital Ujjain. He left his subordinate chieftains, Udaji Pawar at Dhar, Malhar Rao at Indore and Ranoji Sindhia at Ujjain for realising the annual contribution.[64] Here Baji Rao was helped by Hindu allies like Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur and Nandalal Mandloi Chowdhry of Indore. In 1723 the Marathas also "imposed a regular tribute on Gujrat." When about the middle of 1725 Gujrat was transferred from the Nizam-ul-Mulk to Sarbuland Khan, Hamid Khan, deputy of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, offered resistance to the deputy of the newly appointed Governor with the help of the Marathas under Pilaji Gaekwar and Kantaji, who were in return assigned the *chauth* of the districts north of the Mahi. Fresh bands of Maratha adventurers made repeated incursions into Gujrat and harassed Sarbuland Khan in many ways. From 1727 the whole of Gujrat was subject to ravages owing to the contests between the rival agents of Baji Rao and of Trambak Rao (the hereditary *Senapati* or Commander-in-Chief). Baji Rao at last negotiated with Sarbuland Khan a settlement "that if the one-fourth and one-tenth shares in the revenues of the province were granted to him he would protect Gujrat from other invaders," to the great resentment of the rival Maratha party in Gujrat.

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[61] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 165.

[62] Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 58.

[63] " It is said the Marathas had always their faces to the North. The principal gate of the Peshwa's palace at Poona is called the Delhi Gate and faces the North; indeed all capitals of the various Maratha Sardars had their main gates invariably in this direction, a significant fact which all students of Maratha History must carefully note."—Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 109.

Meanwhile, the Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had returned to the Deccan in 1724, became convinced that the activities of Baji Rao would stand right in the way of his supremacy in the Deccan, and he, therefore, devoted himself heart and soul to oppose these. The Nizam incited many of the Maratha chieftains against Baji Rao and even tried to poison Shahu's mind against the Peshwa. By grant of *jagirs*, he converted many of these Maratha chieftains into his allies and he also instigated Raja Sambhuji (of the Kolhapur branch of Shivaji's family) against Shahu (of the Satara branch). The Nizam,

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[64] Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 71.

Sambhuji and Trimbak Rao Dhabade (whose interests in Gujrat had been baffled by Baji Rao) made a common cause against Shahu and Baji Rao, who were thus constantly engaged against these hostile forces from 1727 to 1731. But Baji Rao, by his superior genius, foiled the plans of the confederates, and his great antagonist Trimbak Rao Dhabade lost his life on April 1, 1731, in a battle with him on the plains of Bhilapur near Dhabai between Baroda and that town. This victory of Baji Rao "forms a landmark in the history of the Peshwas." It left him "with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty."

The destruction of Dhabade knocked the bottom out of the Nizam's intrigues and he realised that, under the then circumstances, it would be advisable for him to come to terms with Baji Rao. The Peshwa also now came round to the view (of his political opponents) that he could not carry on his campaigns effectively in the North while the Nizam-ul-Mulk continued to threaten his base in the Deccan; thus sense of self-interest drew them together. Accordingly in August 1731, Baji Rao and the Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand—the Nizam should be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the South, the Peshwa in the North. The immediate effects of this compromise were startling. The Marathas poured into Central India with an irresistible force and occupied Malwa and Bundelkhand. In 1737 Baji Rao pushed on to the vicinity of Delhi, but did not attack the Imperial capital and even refrained from plundering its suburbs. The Delhi Emperor then thought of fighting the Marathas by combining his own forces with those of the Nizam-ul-Mulk whom he now summoned from the Deccan. The Nizam-ul-Mulk, the arch-enemy of Baji Rao, readily responded to the appeal and repaired to Delhi, where he collected forces and secured the services of some of the Rajput clans. But he was defeated near Bhopal and was compelled to come to terms, whereby he promised " in his own handwriting to grant to Baji Rao the whole of Malwa, and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddha and the Chambul; to obtain a confirmation of this cession from the Emperor; and to use every endeavour to procure the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees, to defray the Peshwa's expenses."[65] When the imperial sanction to these acknowledgments were received later (1741), the Maratha power, already established *de facto*, became so *de jure*[66] in a large portion of Peninsular and Central India.

On the West Coast the Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese thus completing their decline that had begun just a century ago. When Nadir Shah invaded India, Baji Rao tried to present a united opposition with his Muslim neighbours against the common enemy, but before anything could be accomplished, he died prematurely in April 1740 at the age of only forty-two.

Baji Rao's son Balaji, commonly called Nana Saheb,[67] was appointed to the Peshwaship at the age of 18 in spite of the opposition of some Maratha chiefs, especially Raghuji Bhonsla of Berar. He was a man of ability, though lacking in superior talents, and " after the manner of his father engaged vigorously in the prosecution of hostilities, the organisation and equipment of a large army, and the preparation of all the munitions of war.[68] Balaji loved ease and pleasure, " which did not however, lose him the respect and attachment of his people,"[69] and he was served by a number of able and experienced councillors who had been also devoted to his father. When Shahu died in 1749, he left " a deed empowering the Peshwa to manage the whole government of the Maratha Empire, on condition of his perpetuating the Raja's name, and keeping up the dignity of the house of Shivaji, through the grandson of Tara Bai, and his descendants. This paper also directed that the Kolhapur State should always be considered an independent sovereignty; that the Jagheers, as now existing, were to be confirmed to the holders, leaving power with the Peshwa to conclude such arrangements with the Jagheerdars, as might be beneficial for extending Hindoo power; for protecting the temples of the Gods; the cultivators of the soil, and whatever was sacred or useful."[70] Thus the Peshwa became the real head of the Maratha confederacy and Poona became the military and political headquarters of the state, and the Raja remained at Satara as a tool in the hands of his " Mayor of the Palace." But this settlement was not accepted without a struggle. Tara Bai with the co-operation of Damaji Gaikwad rose in arms against the Peshwa and placed the young Raja under confinement. The plans of Tara Bai and Gaikwad were frustrated by Balaji and the Raja remained a prisoner at the court of Satara. Mr. Sardesai points out that the usurpation of the power of the *Chhatrapatis* (kings) by the Peshwa was not due to any sinister motives on the part of the latter, and that this change " did not affect or interrupt the forward policy " of Maratha expansion.[71] But it should not be forgotten that Balaji rejected his father's ideal of ' Hindu Pad Padshahi ' with all the Hindu chiefs under one flag. His followers took to the plan of predatory warfare, which produced devastating effects in the areas of their activities. He himself carried an expedition into Bengal pretending to comply with the Mughal Emperor's request to help the Nawab of Bengal against Raghoji who had invaded it on behalf of the Maratha state, but was his rival; in reality he was furthering his own interests at the cost of the confederacy.[72] The depredations of his lieutenants alienated the Rajputs, and destroyed all chances of a combination of Hindu states under one flag against the Muslim powers, native or invading. He effected a revolutionary change in the military organisation of the state. The army came to be composed not only of light infantry and cavalry in which lay its chief strength in the time of Shivaji and Baji Rao, but also of foreign artillerymen and mercenaries of all descriptions admitted with the object of introducing Western method of warfare. Thus the army lost its national character and the old method of fighting was partly given up. Balaji did not realise that it was not easy to organise and discipline a body of mercenaries, composed of different alien elements, and that it could not be expected to work so satisfactorily as the national army of a state, acting under the inspiration of a common ideal. He not only damaged the ideal but also the means of giving effect to it.

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[65] Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 341.

[66] Owen, p. 198.

[67] Sardesai, *Main Currents*, p. 125.

[68] *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 263.

[69] An account of the last battle of Panipat, by Kasi Raja Pandit, edited by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, p. 1.

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[70] Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 35.

[71] *Main Currents*, I, p. 126.

The defects in his policy did not, however, immediately affect the success of the plans and the Maratha ascendancy reached its zenith in his time. About sixty thousand Marathas appeared before Seringapatam in the month of March 1757, and exacted tributes from most of the principalities south of the Kristna. The Nabob of Arcot promised to pay "two lakhs in ready money, and two-and-half lakhs of rupees in assignments" for arrears of *chauth*.[73] They invaded the Hindu state of Mysore and on one occasion extorted thirty-two lakhs of rupees from its ruler. They also invaded Bednore on the opposite side of the Peninsula and helped the English, under Clive and Watson, in reducing the pirate, Angira. But, Hyder, the rising general of Mysore, tried to oppose their pretensions, and they also met with some reverses owing to the superior tactics of Bussy and the hostile proceedings of Nizam Ali (son of the Nizam-ul-Mulk). The Peshwa, however, marched again at the head of a large army and accompanied Sadasiv Rao to the South, and defeated Nizam Ali at Udgir (1760). Ibrahim Khan Gardi, a clever artilleryman trained in European methods of fighting under Bussy in the Nizam's army, had joined the Marathas. Nizam Ali was compelled to conclude a treaty with the Peshwa by which the Marathas obtained the whole province of Bijapur, almost the whole of that of Aurangabad and a part of Bedar, together with several forts, including the famous fortress of Daulatabad.[74] All these territories yielded an annual revenue of more than sixty-two lakhs. Thus the Maratha power became immensely increased in the Deccan and the "Mughal possessions in the Deccan were now confined to an insulated space."[75]

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[72] K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, pp. 382—86.

[73] Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 103.

In the meantime the Marathas had also been busy establishing their influence in Northern India as well. Malhar Rao Holkar and Raghunath Rao were again sent to the North in 1756 and 1757 respectively. The Marathas secured the alliance of the Jats and brought the *Doab* under their control. They attacked Delhi in August 1757 (just a few months after the Abdali invader had left it) and forced Najib-ud-Daulah, the invader's Indian agent at Delhi but the virtual dictator over its emperor, to conclude peace in the month of September on their terms. After having placed Delhi in charge of their ally the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, the Marathas tried to conquer the Punjab from the Abdali's son, Timur Shah, in 1758 under Malhar Rao Holkar and Raghunath Rao and in 1759 under Dattaji Sindhia.

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[74] *Ibid.*, p. 125; *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 264.

[75] Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 126.

But this north-western push of the Marathas brought upon India another invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1759), who this time secured the co-operation of the harassed Rohillas and also of the Nawab of Oudh, who now came to regard the Marathas as the greatest enemies of the Muslim position in India. The Rajputs who had been alienated by Balaji's unsympathetic policy, maintained neutrality. Nor were the Marathas able to win over the Sikhs and make the Punjab their recruiting ground. Ahmad Shah Abdali easily reconquered the Punjab from the Marathas and proceeded towards Delhi. The Afghans routed the troops of Dattaji Sindhia at the battle of Barari Ghat ten miles north of Delhi, on the 9th January, 1760, and killed that Maratha general. Jankoji Sindhia now joined Malhar Rao Holkar, but they could not check the advance of the Abdali. The Peshwa recruited a vast army numbering about two lakhs from the South to contend for the dominion of India. The nominal command of this army was given to the Peshwa's son Biswas Rao, a youth of seventeen years, but the real commander was Sadasiv Rao, or the Bhao, who with the Peshwa had just won the battle of Udgir in the South. Ibrahim Khan Gardi and Rajah Suraj Mal of Bharatpur joined the Bhao. But the latter soon abandoned his side owing to some differences of opinion with him.[76] The Maratha army, reinforced by Ibrahim Khan Gardi's 8,000 foot-musketeers, numbered 45,000 in cavalry and infantry. The Afghan army consisted of 60,000 men half being the Abdali's own subjects (23,000 cavalry and 7,000 infantry) and the other half soldiers of his Indian allies (7,000 cavalry and 23,000 infantry).[77] The Abdali's divisions "moved like one man at the will of the Shah" and he had the advantage of a more efficient artillery and better cavalry.[78] The discipline and modes of campaigning as well as marching of the Durrani army were superior to those of the Marathas.

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[76] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 235—58.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 289—322.

[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 322-23.

After some skirmishes and minor battles, the Afghans and the Marathas met at the historic field of Panipat, where the Bhao fixed his camp, enclosing it with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and with a good rampart on which he mounted his cannon; Ahmad Shah encamped about eight miles from the Maratha lines. In the Maratha rank, the generals became divided in their opinions about the plan of warfare. Many of them asked the Bhao to follow the old predatory tactics. But the Bhao refused to accept their suggestions, for which the other Maratha chiefs like Malhar Rao Holkar fought half-heartedly. On the 14th of January, 1761, the Maratha army began the offensive operations. The Marathas were arranged in three wings,—the Bhao being in the centre, Ibrahim Khan Gardi being posted to his left and the contingents of Malhar Rao Holkar and Jankoji Sindhia to his right. Ahmad Shah commanded in person with his Wazir Shah Wali in the centre, the Rohillas on the right, and Najib with the Nawab of Oudh on the left. The Marathas fought with the valour of despair and gained some initial success. The Afghan centre was broken and Gardi's troops created a confusion among the Rohillas killing 8,000 of them. On hearing of this disaster, Ahmad Shah collected fresh reinforcements at the psychological moment and made a terrible attack on the Maratha army from all sides. "This close and violent attack lasted for an hour, during which they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Between two and three o'clock, Biswas Rao was wounded and dismounted from his horse; which being reported to the Bhao he had his disabled nephew carried to him and placed on his own elephant. The Bhao himself continued the action nearly half an hour longer on horseback, at the head of his men; when all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Maratha army at once turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead. The instant they gave way, the victors pursued them with the utmost fury; and as they gave no quarter, the slaughter was immense, the pursuit continuing for ten or twelve *coss* in every direction in which they fled."[79] Nearly forty thousand Maratha prisoners were taken alive, of whom six or seven thousands found shelter in Shuja-ud-Daulah's camp and the rest were murdered in cold blood by the Durranies. Thus thousands of souls in the Maratha camp, of all descriptions, men, women and children, lost their lives. "The plunder found in the Maratha camp was prodigiously great . . . . hoises were driven away in flocks like sheep; and great numbers of elephants were also taken."[80] Ibrahim Khan Gardi was cruelly put to death after seven days; the dead bodies of the Bhao and of Santaji Rao Ghorpade were found out after some search and were taken to Ahmad Shah's camp, who ordered these to be burnt along with that of Biswas Rao according to the custom of their caste. Ahmad Shah next proceeded to Delhi, but left it shortly after, on March 22.

The news of this terrible disaster was brought to the Peshwa in a merchant's message: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." The Peshwa proceeded slowly to Poona and soon died of a broken heart.

The Third Battle of Panipat, no doubt, dealt a terrible blow on the Marathas, but it did not completely crush their power for ever. To some extent they quickly made up the losses of this disaster, though they never again recovered the position they had gained by 1761, and made more or less successful

[79] Kasi Raja Pandit, *The Third Battle of Panipat*, pp. 39-40.

[80] *Ibid*.

attempts to re-establish their authority in Hindustan. The Abdali could not remain as a permanent check to their revival, as he could not retain the Punjab for a long time, having to leave India in March 1761 to look after his own affairs at home. On the other hand, the next Peshwa Madhav Rao set himself to repair the damage and "carried out the aims and objects of the Maratha policy as laid down by the first Peshwa" till 1772. In fact, the decline in the fortunes of the Marathas began not so much from the day on which they suffered the disaster at Panipat as from the day which witnessed the premature death of Madhav Rao I, who has been justly regarded as the greatest of the Peshwas.[81] Grant Duff significantly observed that "the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince." Then again in the course of the next twenty-five years Madhaji Sindhia made the Maratha power felt once again in Hindustan and the Marathas twice tried to oppose with great strength the progress of the British power before they were finally crushed. But none the less Panipat "decided the fate of India." "The Marathas and the Muhammadans weakened each other in that deadly conflict, facilitating the aims of the British for Indian supremacy."[82] It gave the growing British power the opportunity it needed for strengthening its hold on India. If Plassey had sown the seeds of British supremacy in India, Panipat afforded time for their maturing and striking roots. When the Marathas again appeared to oppose the growth of the English Company, the latter was distinctly in a better position in India than before. Sir J. N. Sarkar significantly observes: "in 1772, and still more markedly in 1789, things were not as they had been in 1761."[83]

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[81] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 147—54.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[83] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 356.

The principal Rajput states also tried to assert their power after the death of Alamgir, their oppressor, who had alienated their loyalty. Amar Singh of Mewar (Udaipur), Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur), and Ajit Singh of Marwar (Jodhpur) tried to cast off their allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. But when Bahadur Shah proceeded to subdue them Amar Singh submitted without any resistance and sent presents to the Emperor through his brother Bakht Singh. The Emperor next brought Jaipur under his control and made it over to Bijay Singh, Jai Singh's brother. Ajit Singh also tendered his submission to the Emperor, who conferred on him the title of Maharaja and raised the dignity of his rank. But very soon Ajit Singh, Jai Singh and Durgadas Rathor left the Emperor's camp on the 30th April, 1708. They again formed a coalition among themselves for joint resistance to the Emperor. They harassed the officers of the Emperor in different parts of Rajputana and gained some successes against them. Bahadur Shah adopted conciliatory measures and pacified the Rajput chiefs, as the Sikhs had risen in revolt in the north of Sarhind. Taking advantage of the turmoils that followed the death of Bahadur Shah, Ajit Singh again defied the Imperial authority and invaded the Imperial territories. Sayyid Husain Ali was sent to subdue the Raja, but so vitiated was the party-politics of the time that the Emperor and the anti-Sayyid Party sent secret instructions to Ajit Singh "urging him to make away with Husain Ali in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakshi's property and treasure would become his; and he would, in addition, receive other rewards."[84] Ajit Singh, however, would not or could not carry out these instructions and came to terms with Husain Ali without any battle (1714). The Raja agreed to give one of his daughters to the Emperor (the actual marriage being celebrated the next year).

[84] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 286.

In the time of Farrukhsiyar the "houses of Jodhpur and Jaipur played a conspicuous part in Delhi politics and by opportune aloofness or adherence they had added to their possessions a large portion of the Empire." The Sayyids tried to strengthen their own party by conciliating the Rajput chiefs, who obtained various appointments. Ajit Singh received (besides full sovereignty in his own dominions) the governments of Ajmer and Gujrat, which he held till 1721. After the accession of Muhammad Shah, Jai Singh of Jaipur was conciliated by a large gift of money and the government of the Sarkar of Surat. After the fall of the Sayyids he became also the Governor of Agra. "In this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Delhi to the shores of the ocean at Surat was in the hands of these two Rajas, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed frontier."[85] Ajit Singh secretly helped the Marathas in their activities in Western India, but owing to the court reaction against the Sayyid brothers, who had been in alliance with the Rajputs, he was deprived of his government of Gujrat, at a very inopportune moment, when the said Subah was in the welter of internal disorders, and Haider Quli was appointed in his place: so that Jodhpur was alienated, while Gujrat slipped from Mughal hands. Ajit Singh met with a tragic death at the hands of his second son Bakht (Bhakt) Singh, the mystery behind which remains practically unexplained.

The Sikhs after Govind's assassination in the Deccan in 1708 found a leader in Banda, about whose origin and early career nothing trustworthy has been known. He gathered round him a large party of the Sikhs and proceeded to the North. He captured Sarhind, and wreaked a terrible revenge on Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of that place and the murderer of Guru Govind's children.[86] All power now passed into the

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[85] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4.

[86] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 96.

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hands of the Sikhs and one Bar Singh, belonging to paragana Haibatpur Patti in the Bari Doab, was appointed Governor of Sarhind. Banda next occupied the country between Sutlej and Jumna and established the stronghold of Lohgarh (or Blood and Iron Fort) at Mukhlispur (half-way between Nahan and Sadhaura), where he " tried to assume something of regal state " and coins were struck in his name.[87] After the local officers of the Emperor were employed in quelling the Sikh rising, the Emperor himself arrived there and besieged Banda's fort Lohgarh, but Banda escaped with many of his followers from the place into the hills north of Lahore. After the death of Bahadur Shah, Banda came out of his hiding place, took possession of the town of Sadhaura, restored the fort of Lohgarh and again plundered the province of Sarhind. After the accession of Farrukhsiyar, the Mughal officers chastised Banda and his followers. A large number of them were killed in battle, " contending among themselves for martyrdom and many were captured after a fierce resistance." Banda was taken to Delhi in mock state on an elephant and was subjected to great torture. It is said that he was asked to kill his own son, which he did " silent and unmoved and he himself was tormented to death under the feet of elephants."

After the death of Banda " an active persecution was kept up against the Sikhs " and they sank into insignificance for a generation. But the " tenets of Nanuk and Govind had nevertheless taken deep root in the hearts of the people ; the peasant and the mechanic nursed their faith in secret, and the more ardent clung to the hope of ample revenge and speedy victory."[88] They raised their hands for some time after Nadir Shah's invasion had given a rude shock to the Emperor's authority in Upper India. They established a fort at Dalewal on the Ravi and began levying contributions round Eminabad, lying to the north of Lahore, but they were at last dispersed about 1745 A.D. They did not, however, give up hopes, and the repeated Durrani invasions, by almost effacing Mughal influence over the Punjab, indirectly helped their rise into a power. After the Third Battle of Panipat, the disturbed political condition of the country was availed of by the Sikhs to increase their strength and they greatly harassed the Abdali during his return from India. They soon made themselves masters of Lahore and their chiefs met in a general assembly at Amritsar, where they "proclaimed their own sway and the prevalence of their faith, by issuing coins with an inscription to the effect that Gooroo Govind had received from Nanuk 'Deg, Tegh, and Futteh' or grace, power and rapid victory."[89]

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[87] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[88] Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 116.

It was under Churaman, who had assumed the leadership of the Jats after the death of his father Bhajja Singh of Sinsani, that the Jats rose into prominence in the early part of the eighteenth century. Churaman "had a genius for organisation and making clever use of opportunities." The decay of the Imperial authority and the disturbed politics of the time afforded a fair field for his ambitious spirit, and by timely revolts or submissions, he greatly added to the power of the Jats before he committed suicide (September-October 1721) owing to the rude behaviour of his eldest son Mukkam Singh. He was succeeded as the leader of the Jats by his nephew Badan Singh who established the authority of his house "over almost the whole of the Agra and Mathura districts, partly by posing as the protector of the Hindus against Muslim rule, but mainly by clever matrimonial alliances with some powerful Jat families of those places."[90] He disliked predatory habits and was a man of pacific nature and of some æsthetic taste. He died on the 7th June, 1756.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[90] Prof. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, Vol. I, p. 61.

Badan Singh's adopted son and successor Rajah Suraj Mal, who has been described by a contemporary historian as 'the Plato of the Jat tribe' and by a modern writer as the "Jat Ulysses,"[91] because of his "political sagacity, a steady intellect and a clear vision," played an important part in the political affairs of his times, and extended the authority of the Jats over the districts of Agra, Dholpur, Mainpuri, Hathras, Aligarh, Etawah, Meerut, Rohtak, Farrukhnagar, Mewat, Rewari, Gurgaon and Mathura, besides the original principality of Bharatpur. The right bank of the Ganges formed the eastern boundary of the Jat kingdom, the Chambal the southern, the Subah of Agra included in the territory of the Rajah of Jaipur the western, and the Subah of Delhi the northern.[92] But the Jat power began to decline after the death of Suraj Mal in December, 1763.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

CHAPTER VI

INTERNAL CONDITION OF INDIA UNDER THE EARLIER AND LATER MUGHALS

SECTION I

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION: CIVIL AND MILITARY

I

OUR sources for the study of Mughal administration are few and scattered. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* is, no doubt, an important source, but it has got certain defects and the author " does not give us much help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative machinery, though in the statistical portion he is detailed and accurate."[1] *Dastur-ul-Amals* or official handbooks, composed in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, supply important facts, figures and lists in details, but the rarity and defective nature of the manuscripts of these manuals make access to them difficult and their reading conjectural. A secondary source of information is an old Persian manuscript discovered by Sir J. N. Sarkar in a Kayastha family of the Patna district, which he calls the " Manual of the Duties of Officers " and which gives minute information about official routine. Some additional information can also be gleaned from Court-Annals like the *Akbar-namah* of the sixteenth century, the *Iqbal-namah Jahangiri* by Mutamad Khan, the *Padshah-namah* by Abdul Hamid Lahori, the *Bahadurshah-namah* of 1709, from memoirs like the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, contemporary Persian histories like the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizamuddin and the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by Badaoni and from the contemporary accounts of foreigners like Roe, Hawkins, Bernier, De Laet, Terry and others.[2] Incidental references in the contemporary factory records also throw some light on the working of the administrative system at the Centre and in the Provinces.

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[1] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* (1920 edition), p. 20.

The Mughal system of administration was not purely Indian in origin. The Turkish conquerors brought with them to India the administrative system of the Abbasid Khalifs of Iraq and the Fatimid Khalifs of Egypt, but it was mixed up with Indian practices and customs. The Mughal administration, therefore, "presented a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements ; or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting."[3] The elaborate organisation of the state led to the multiplication of official correspondence and the abundance of written records. By its nature, the Mughal administrative system "was a military rule and therefore necessarily a centralised despotism,"[4] and every officer of the state had to be enrolled in the army lists. But it was not the arbitrary oriental despotism of romance writers and was not based wholly on brute force.[5] There was partial acquiescence of the people because the Mughal government was more tolerant and beneficent, at least at first, than the Turkish rule of the preceding three centuries. With certain exceptions, it allowed the people freedom of social life and respected the time-honoured autonomy of the villages.[6] Nevertheless, the functions of the Mughal government were manifold.

The King was the head of the administration. In theory his power was unlimited and he was considered to be the 'shadow of God.'[7] As a Muhammadan, the Mughal Emperor was required to obey the scripture and authentic traditions, but a really strong king could defy Quranic law if he liked; the only remedies lying in the hands of the *ulemas* were rebellion or assassination which were, however, dangerous courses. The Emperor was himself the head of the church and the state alike. He had no cabinet in the modern sense of the term. "The *Wazir* or *Diwan* was the highest person below the Emperor, but the other officers were in no sense his colleagues. They were admittedly inferior to him and deserved rather to be called secretaries than ministers, because nearly all their work was liable to revision by the *wazir*, and royal orders were often transmitted to them through him."[8]

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[2] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 7—28.

[3] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* (1935 edn.), p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[5] Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, pp. 88—91.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 60—63.

But not even the most powerful despotism can manage the multitudinous problems of a large empire without consultations with at least a select body of councillors, or a clique. Thus in practice the Mughal Emperor very often referred his policy and action to the principal officers and held private consultations (*diwan-i-khas*) with them. The principal departments of the Mughal Government were: (1) the Exchequer and Revenue (under the High *Diwan*); (2) the Imperial Household (under the *Mir Saman* or the *Khan Saman*); (3) the Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the *Mir Bakhshi*); (4) the Judiciary (under the Chief *Qazi*); (5) Religious Endowments and Charities (under the Chief *Sadr* or *Sadr-ul-Sudur*); (6) Censorship of Public Morals (under the Muhtasib). Somewhat inferior to these were the departments of: (7) the Artillery (under the *Mir Atish* or *Darogha-i-Topkhana*); (8) Intelligence and Correspondence (under the *Darogha* of *Dak Chowki*); (9) the Mint (under its own *Darogha*).

The High *Diwan* was originally the highest officer of the revenue department and decided all questions relating to the assessment or collection of revenue. He received all revenue

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[8] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* (1935 edn.), p. 17.

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papers, returns and despatches from different parts of the empire, and all orders for payments, except for petty sums previously allotted, were passed by him. Gradually he obtained control over other departments. Like every other high officer in the Mughal government, he held a military rank in the army and often actually commanded armies, but he could not remain at a distance for a long time because of the necessity of his constant presence near the Emperor. He had two assistants known as the *Diwan-i-Ām* or Diwan of Salaries and the *Diwan-i-Khalsa* or Diwan of Crownlands.

The functions of the *Bakhshi* or the Paymaster were varied and his " influence extended to all departments of the central government."[9] As all the civil officers of the Mughal government held military ranks in the army, and thus 'theoretically belonged to the military department,' the pay bills of all the officers had to be scrutinised and passed by the Paymaster. While preparing for a battle, he assigned posts to the commanders in the van, centre, wings or rear and presented the muster-rolls of the army before the Emperor, who was theoretically the Commander-in-Chief. He also kept registers containing the lists of *mansabdars* in proper form and looked after the recruitment of soldiers.

The *Khan Saman* or the Lord High Steward was the head of the Emperor's department of manufactures, stores and supply required for military as well as household purposes,[10] and accompanied him in his journeys and campaigns. He also controlled the Emperor's personal servants and looked after his daily expenditure, food, stores, tents, etc. Thus it was an important office and could be held only by trustworthy and influential men.

The *Muhatasibs* or Censors of Public Morals looked after the enforcement of the Prophet's Commands, put down the

[9] Ibn Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 235—38.

practices condemned in the *Shari'at*, and saw that the rules of morality were generally observed.

Besides these there were other officers in charge of several departments. Some of these were: (1) the *Mir Mal* (the Lord Privy Seal); (2) the *Mustaufi* (the Auditor-General); (3) the *Awarjah Navis* (the Superintendent of Daily Expenditure at the Court); (4) the *Nazir-i-Buyutat* (the Superintendent of the Imperial Workshop) chiefly responsible for its financial side; (5) the *Mushrif* (the Revenue Secretary); (6) the *Mir Bahri* (the Lord of the Admiralty); (7) the *Mir Bars* (the Superintendent of Forests); (8) the *Qur Begi* (the Lord Standard Bearer); (9) the *Akht Begi* (the Superintendent of the Stud); (10) the *Khwan Salar* (the Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen); (11) (*a*) the *Waqa-i-Navis*, (*b*) the *Sawanih-Nigar*, (c) the *Khufia-Navis*, (*d*) the *Harkara*—all news-reporters; (12) the *Mir Arz* (in charge of petitions presented to the Emperor); (13) the *Mir Manzil* (the Quarter-Master-General); (14) the *Mir Tozak* (the Master of Ceremonies).

The Mughal Emperor, as "the Khalif of the Age," was the fountain of all justice, and, following the immemorial Eastern tradition, he himself tried cases in open court on a fixed day. He was 'the highest court of appeal and sometimes acted as the court of first instance too.'[11] The *Mir Arz* had to be present at the palace continuously; once in the time of Akbar seven *Mir Arzs* were appointed, with Abdur Rahim as the Head *Mir Arz*, owing to the pressure of work.

The emperors were lovers of justice. "If I were guilty of an unjust act," said Akbar, "I would rise in judgment against myself." Peruschi writes on the authority of Monserrate that "as to the administration of justice he is most zealous and watchful . . . . In inflicting punishment he is deliberate, and after he has made over the guilty person to the hands of the judge and court to suffer either the extreme penalty or the mutilation of some limb, he requires that he should be three times reminded by messages before the sentence is carried out." Access to the emperor's court through all kinds of obstructions from the porters and underlings, courtiers and other middlemen, was not very easy. However, the right of direct petitioning by subjects which was won in England after a hard fight in the Bill of Rights (1689), was granted by some of the Mughal Emperors out of their own free will. The most notable example of this was Jahangir's golden chain, hung from the palace-balcony to the ground outside the Agra Fort, to enable the people to tie their petitions which might be drawn up to the Emperor. Aurangzeb, Muhammad Shah and some other later Mughals held more or less the same attitude, though circumstances made them unable to translate it into practice. The emperors emphasised speedy justice and punishment of defaulting officers, and there was nothing like an Administrative Law to set the officials on a higher footing than the common people.

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[11] Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 107.

The *Sadr-ul-Sudur* or the Chief *Sadr* occupied an important position in the Islamic State. According to the ideal conception of the Muslim jurists he formed the connecting-link between the king and the people, and was the guardian of the Islamic law as well as the spokesman of the *ulema*.[12] But in the Mughal administration his function appears "to have been limited to the use of his power for the award by the state of stipends and *jagirs* to the *ulema* (pious men, scholars and monks) and the needy."[13] He looked into, and judged, cases relating to such grants. He was also the Emperor's almoner and disbursed the sums reserved by him for charitable purposes. Below him there was a *Sadr* in each province.

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[12] Ibn Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

The *Qazi-ul-Quzat* was the highest judicial officer of the kingdom and he was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. There was " no system, no organisation of the law-courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them."[14] Cases were mainly tried and disposed of by (1) the *Qazi*, (2) the *Mufti*, and (3) the *Mir Adl*. The *Mufti*, who was " urged to spend his days and nights in reading books on jurisprudence and the reports of cases from which one can learn precedents," expounded the law ; the *Qazi* made investigations into and tried cases ; and the *Mir Adl* drew up and pronounced the judgment.

The *Qazis* tried civil and criminal cases of Hindus as well as Muslims. While deciding cases in which the parties were Hindus they had to consult the customs and usages of the community. They were expected to be " just, honest, impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court-house and the seat of Government, not to accept presents from the people where they served nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody, and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory."[15] But in practice they misused their powers, though there were some exceptions, and " the Qazi's department became a byword and reproach in Mughal times." As there were no primary courts below the courts of the *Qazis*, the jurisdiction of each one of whom was vast, " men had to settle their differences locally, by appeal to the caste courts or *panchayets*, the arbitration of an impartial umpire (*salis*), or by a resort to force."[16]

There was nothing like legislation in the modern sense of the term, or a written code of state-law making for quick decisions or execution of judgment. The twelve ordinances of

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[14] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 108.

[15] Quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Jahangir, and the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*, a law digest compiled by a school of theologians under Aurangzeb's supervision at a cost of about two lakhs of rupees, were the only notable exceptions. Some imperial *firmans* contained valuable instructions about administration of justice. Thus Aurangzeb's *firman* to the *diwan* of Gujrat dated 16th June 1672, " gives his penal code in a short compass."[17] The law administered by the judges was chiefly the sacred law, *viz.*, (*a*) Quranic injunctions, (*b*) *Sumas* or *Hadis* or sayings of the Prophet second in importance only to the *Quran*, (*c*) *Fatwas* or previous interpretations of the Holy Law by eminent jurists, (*d*) digests prepared from time to time by the learned doctors of the four schools of Islamic law, *viz.*, the *Hanafi*, the *Malaki*, the *Shafi*, and the *Hanbali*. In criminal cases no distinctions were made on religious grounds, but in civil cases, where the parties were Hindus, their traditional rights and customs were paid due regard to. The secular laws sometimes administered by the judges were formulated and issued as *Kanuns* or ordinances. Customary laws in general were not disregarded, and the judges sometimes applied the principles of equity. They possessed high discretionary powers and were held in high esteem by the people. But the emperor's adjudications were expressly free, with the sole proviso that they did not run counter to the canon laws.

The courts often inflicted severe punishments ; amputation, mutilation and whipping needed no reference, but no capital-punishment could be inflicted without the Emperor's consent. The prisoners, subjected to long-term imprisonment, were confined in forts, and there was nothing like a regular jail system. Barbarous punishments were inflicted in cases of heinous crimes, but sometimes fines were imposed in lieu.

There was no hereditary nobility in Mughal India ; it was purely official in character. The property or titles did not descend from father to son ; and the property of a nobleman was escheated to the State on his death. Bernier writes : " The King being the heir of all their possessions no family can long maintain its distinction, but after the Umrah's death is soon extinguished, and the sons or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to the beggary and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry. The king, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family, and if the Umrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour."[18] Neither the earlier *Jagirdari* system nor the later *Zamindari* system was prevalent, the former being discontinued by the Great Mughals and the latter developing only during decadence of the government. The protected Hindu chiefs in Rajputana, in the hills and in out-of-way tracts, were the only hereditary magnates in the empire.

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 125—32.

The escheat system produced some harmful effects. Having only life interest in their property under this system, the nobles squandered away their wealth on luxuries and extravagant lives. Thus it was largely responsible for the deplorable " material waste and moral degradation of the highest class in society."[19] Again, there being no security of the nobles' fortunes, accumulation of private capital was prevented at the cost of the economic development of the country. Further, it " prevented India from having one of the strongest safeguards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely, an independent hereditary peerage whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour in every generation, and who could, therefore, afford to be bold in their criticism of the royal caprice and their opposition to the royal tyranny."[20]

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[18] *Travels*, pp. 211-12.
[19] Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 175-76.
[20] *Ibid.*

It was not an easy matter for the Mughal Government to make its authority effectively felt in the provinces. Situated at a distance from the capital, the provincial governors were disposed to set up their own independent authority and the difficulty of communications helped the growth of centrifugal forces. But the Great Mughals succeeded to a great extent in solving this problem by dividing the substance and reducing the duration of authority ; provincial administration was often divided between officers who were in a sense rivals, and governors were frequently transferred. After abolishing the system of *jagirs*, Akbar parcelled out the empire into fifteen provinces ;[21] in Jahangir's time it was divided into seventeen viceroyalties ; Shahjahan's empire contained twenty-two subahs yielding an income of twenty-two crores of rupees ;[22] in the time of Aurangzeb the provinces were twenty-one in number.

" The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government."[23] Over each subah there was the Governor popularly called *Sahib-i-Subah*, Lord of the Province, or simply *Subạhdar*, and officially styled the *Nazim*, assisted by the *Diwan*, the *Bakhshi*, the *Faujdar*, the *Kotwal*, the *Qazi*, the *Sadr*, the *Amil*, the *Bitikchi*, the *Potdar* or *Khizandar*, the *Waqa-i-Navis* and other officers of the revenue department, like the *Qanungo* and *Patwari*. The *Subahs* were further divided into *Sarkars* and *Parganas*, the former being fiscal and the latter administrative units. The administration was centred in the provincial capital, and the Mughals, being " essentially an urban people in India," neglected the villages, and " village life was dreaded by them as a punishment."[24] The Subahdar kept touch with the villages through the Faujdars and the officers of the revenue department and by personal tours through them, but the state declined all socialistic functions, and so far as administrative activities were concerned the villages were left free, " so long as there was no violent crime or defiance of royal authority in the locality."[25]

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[21] (1) Agra, (2) Allahabad, (3) Oudh, (4) Delhi, (5) Lahore, (6) Multan, (7) Kabul, (8) Ajmer, (9) Bengal, (10) Bihar, (11) Ahmadabad, (12) Malwa, (13) Berar, (14) Khandesh, (15) Ahmadnagar.

[22] (1) Delhi, (2) Akbarabad, (3) Lahore, (4) Ajmer, (5) Daulatabad, (6) Allahabad, (7) Berar, (8) Malwa, (9) Khandesh, (10) Ahmadabad, (11) Oudh, (12) Bihar, (13) Multan, (14) Telingana, (15) Orissa, (16) Baglana, (17) Thatta, (18) Kabul, (19) Balkh, (20) Qandahar, (21) Badakhshan, (22) Kashmir.

[23] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 55.

The Subahdar was the head of the provincial administration and he combined civil and military authority. He was regarded as the emperor's vicegerent in the Subah and derived his authority from him. He could hold his own court but could not show himself at the *jharoka*, or declare war or conclude peace without the emperor's permission. He received appeals from the decisions of the Qazis and Mir Adls but could not inflict capital punishment without the emperor's permission. As supreme military officer in the province, he commanded the provincial forces. He had to look after the maintenance of peace and order within his jurisdiction and kept himself informed of all affairs in the country through a large number of spies. Though the short tenure (two or three years only) of office and the practice of transfer from one province to another offered some checks on the governor's power, yet every one of them " tried to play the Padishah in his own court." Both Peter Mundy[26] and Bernier speak of the governors in Shahjahan's time as cruel and rapacious tyrants. But we have it from Manucci that the Emperor punished the oppressive governors, and under Aurangzeb the imperial control over them became more strict, while the administration as a whole became lax. It was during the period of disorder following his death that the important governors made themselves independent by way of reaction from excessive tutelage, and tried to rule like benevolent despots.[27]

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[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[26] *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 160.

The provincial Diwan, who was the next important officer in a subah, was in a sense the rival of the Subahdar. It was the duty of each " to keep a strict watch over the other " so that neither of them might become too powerful.[28] Formerly the governors selected the Diwans but from 1579 (with re-organization of revenue administration) they began to be selected by the imperial Diwan and acted directly under his orders. They were required to improve the cultivation, and they had the control over the provincial purse so that no bills could be cashed without their signature. They were " specially urged to appoint as collectors (*Kroris* and *Tahsildars*) practical men who were likely to induce the ryots to pay the government dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement."[29] Cases where the Subahdar and the Diwan were of different opinions were referred to the Emperor.

The Faujdars were important subordinates and assistants of the Subahdars and they were placed in charge of important and comparatively more advanced subdivisions of a province.[30] Their appointments or dismissals rested with the Subahdars. As commanders of the provincial troops, they helped the Subahdars in maintaining peace and order, and in the discharge of their executive functions. They were to chastise the refractory zamindars and to offer military aid to the amils in collecting revenues from defaulting villages, on a written requisition for such aids. " In short, the faujdar, as his name suggests, was only the commander of a military force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber-gangs, take cognisance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities, or the criminal judge, or the censor."[31]

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[27] *Vide* ante.

[28] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 8 and *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 221—24.

[29] Sarkar's *Mughal .Administration*, p. 62.

[30] In the subah of Bihar there were Faujdars at Palamau, Darbhanga, and Hajipur during the seventeenth century and in Bengal at Hugli, Jessore, Gauhati, Sylhet, Midnapur, and Ghora Ghat.

The Kotwal was the head of the city-police and he was entrusted with the task of maintaining public order and decency within the cities. He " was essentially an urban officer being the chief of the city-police."[31] He was to look after the peace and security of the people in the cities and to check and control every element of disorder, such as thieves, pick-pockets, professional women, dancing-girls, liquor-sellers and vendors of intoxicants. He was to keep a very careful watch over the prisoners so that none might escape, to trace and recover stolen goods, and to control animal slaughter and widow-burning (*Suttee*). " He should check the number of persons in the prison and ascertain (their) answers of the charges against them. Then he should report to his official superior the cases of those prisoners whom he considers innocent and secure their liberation. In the case of the guilty persons who could pay, he should take orders for exacting suitable fines from them and then releasing them. In the case of penniless prisoners, the Kotwal should report and take action as commanded. A statement of the cases of those deserving to be kept in prison should be sent to the officers of Canon Law, and the orders passed by the latter over their signatures should be carried out by the Kotwal. In the case of those deserving death, the Kotwal should, through proper officers, freely state their cases to the judge (in writing) on the day of trial, receive the Qazi's signed sentence of death and execute the sentence."[32]

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[31] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 66.

The provincial *Sadr's* duty was to supervise the *Sayurghals* (rent-free lands granted for religious and charitable purposes) so that these were applied to the right purpose. He was appointed by the Central Government; and having a separate office of his own, he was more independent in his relations with the Subahdar than the Diwan.

The *Amil* or the revenue-collector had multifarious duties to discharge. He was asked to be rigorous in the matter of realising dues from refractory ryots. He was to determine the quality of the cultivated lands and to reclaim the waste lands. He was to see that the lands were properly measured and the revenues were collected peacefully, no extra amount being demanded from the ryots. The registers kept by the *Karkun*, the *Muqaddam* and the *Patwari* were checked by him. He had to report any untoward affair affecting the condition of agriculture within his jurisdiction, and also to submit monthly reports about the material condition of the people, the *jagirdars*, the market prices, the current rates of tenements, etc. He was warned not to accept presents or exact money from the cultivators during his tours in the country. The duties of the *Bitikchi* were analogous to those of the *Amil*. He served as a check on the *Amil* and was of the same status like him. He prepared abstracts of revenue in every season and sent an annual report to the Court. The *Potdar* or *Khizandar* received money from the peasantry, and kept the treasure of the state in safe custody. He issued receipts for payments and kept ledgers to avoid mistakes in accounts.

The *Waqa-i-Navis* or news-reporters kept the Central Government informed of everything within the provinces. They attended when the provincial governors held their courts and recorded the occurrences on the spot and regularly despatched news-letters to the Emperor. They "enjoyed great influence and trust in the reign of Aurangzeb, who used to regard the spies as his eyes and ears."[33]

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Besides these, there were the revenue officers like the *Karkuns*, the *Qanungos*, and the *Patwaris*. The *parganas* were divided into villages, and in each village there was a *muqaddam* (headman) and a *patwari*, who kept revenue accounts. The *muqaddam's* function was to keep order in the village and to help in the collection of state dues.

✓Finance is the backbone of an administration and in an agricultural country like India land-revenue has always formed an important source of state income; it was the most important in the days of the Mughal Empire, though there were other heads of income such as customs, mint, inheritance, escheats, plunder, presents and monopolies.[34] As we have already seen, Sher Shah was the first Muslim ruler who effected important revenue reforms, calculated to prove beneficial to the state and the people. But his work was undone in the period of confusion following his death, and before Akbar ascended the throne, the lands of the country were divided into two parts—the *Khalsa* or crown-lands, and the *Jagir* lands, held by a number of nobles who paid a certain amount to the sovereign, provided for certain services, and kept the balance of income to themselves.

But the expansion and consolidation of the empire in the time of Akbar necessitated some reorganization of the revenue system. Some definite efforts towards reform were made in the fifteenth year of his reign (1570-71) by his Diwan, Muzaffar Khan Turbati, who with the help of Todar Mal, "prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue based on estimates framed by the local *Qanungos* and checked by ten superior *Qanungos* at headquarters."[35] But the outbreak of the Uzbeg rebellion prevented the whole scheme being put into operation. Again after the conquest of Gujrat in 1573 Raja Todar Mal effected there a regular survey of the land, and the assessment was made " with reference to the area and quality of the land." In 1575 the *jagirs* were converted into crown-lands and the whole empire as it then existed, with the exceptions of Bengal, Bihar and Gujrat, was divided into 182 *parganas*, the yield of each being one crore of *dam* (2½ lakhs of rupees) a year. Officers appointed to collect these revenues were called *Kroris*.[36] But " the title of Krori was continued in later times irrespective of the amount of revenue to be collected by this officer. It latterly meant simply ' a collector of state dues ' and we have a class of Kroris of ganj, *i.e.*, collectors of markets."[37]

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[34] Moreland, *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 268.

It was in 1582 when Todar Mal was appointed the *Diwan-i-Ashraf* that important revenue-reforms were effected. Hitherto the yearly assessments were made on the basis of production and statistics of current prices and thus the demand of the state varied from year to year and the revenue-collectors could not go on with their work before the rates had been settled by the officers. Todar Mal's reforms sought to remove the evils caused by yearly assessments, and their principles have been described by Abul Fazl in the following terms :

" When through the prudent management of the sovereign the empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandman complained of excessive exactions, and on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances.

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[35] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 370.

[36] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 86.

[37] *Ibid.*

"His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years ; the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the fifteenth year of the Divine Era (1570-71) to the twenty-fourth (1579-80) an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed, a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the twentieth to the twenty-fourth year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows."[38]

Thus Todar Mal fixed the revenue on the basis of average assessments for ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year (1571—81) of the reign.[39] Lands were carefully surveyed. Formerly hempen ropes were used, whose length varied with every change of weather ; but from 1575 they were replaced by a jarib of bamboos joined by iron rings, which assured a constant measure. Land was divided into four classes on the basis of "the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation" :

(1) *Poloj*, land capable of being under continuous cultivation. (2) *Parauti*, land kept fallow for a year or two to recover productivity. (3) *Chachar*, land that was left fallow for three or four years. (4) *Banjar*, land which remained uncultivated for five years or more.

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[38] *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 88.

[39] Jarret's translation gives a wrong impression of the principle of the reform (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 88).

"Each of the first three classes was subdivided into three grades, and the average produce of the class was calculated from the mean of the three grades in it." Only the area actually cultivated was assessed.[40] The state demand was fixed at one-third of the produce, and the peasants were given the choice of paying either in cash or kind. The officers of the state settled the cash rates and they were different for different crops. "When the season arrived a staff of officers toured in the villages to ascertain the exact area of land under cultivation with a view to prepare the crop-statement. The area of each crop in each holding having been found out, the *Bitikchi* applied the prescribed rates and calculated the revenue due from the cultivator.[41] This was known as the *Zabti* system of assessment and was prevalent in the subahs of Bihar, Allahabad, Multan, Oudh, Agra, Malwa, Delhi, Lahore, and in certain parts of Ajmer and Gujrat. The *Ghallabakhsha* system of assessment by crop division, which prevailed in Thatta and certain parts of the subahs of Kabul and Kashmir, and the *Nasaq* system, were not so important.

There was nothing like revenue framing. "Akbar's revenue system was ryotwaree (*raiyatwari*) and the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue."[42] There was a staff of revenue officers; the *Amil* or the revenue collector was helped by the *Bitikchi*, the *Potdar*, the *Qanungo*, the *Patwari* and the *Muqaddams.* They were instructed to be careful in the matter of revenue-collection and "not to extend the hand of demand out of season." Many vexatious cesses were remitted by Akbar's orders and this made the comparatively high assessments bearable. Remissions were sometimes made, and according to a Sikh tradition Akbar remitted the land revenue of the Punjab in the year 1595-96 at the instance of Guru Arjun.

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[40] The revenue-collector was thus instructed: "Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagements take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage." (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 44.)

[41] Ishwari Prasad, *Muslim Rule*, p. 461. The *Bittikchi* was perhaps a most obnoxious person to the villagers, as the Bengali colloquial term '*bitikicchi*' (repulsive, obnoxious) indicates.

[42] Quoted in Smith's *Akbar*, p. 375.

Dr. Smith has thus reviewed the revenue administration of Akbar: "In short, the system was an admirable one. The principles were sound, and the practical instructions to officials all that could be desired. But a person who has been in close touch, as the author has been, with the revenue administration from top to bottom, cannot feel considerable scepticism concerning the conformity of practice with precept."[43] He believes in the benevolent intentions of Akbar, but to prove the superiority of the Anglo-Indian administration over the Mughal, he opines that "these were commonly defeated by distant governors enjoying practical independence during their term of office." Dr. Smith does not cite definite instances in favour of his statement. It is always true that the practice will differ from the ideal ; but the real point to consider is whether the revenue system, as devised by Todar Mal, proved oppressive to the people, or whether their lot was improved in any way. There is no doubt that the new system made for order and regularity in place of the confusion and inconvenience prevailing in the preceding few centuries of Moslem rule, and it was calculated to promote the interests of the people. Precautions were taken to prevent corruption among the officers, and the guilty officers were punished. There might have been occasional violations of Todar Mal's principles, but these were exceptions under the rules.

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[43] *Akbar*, pp. 366-67.

Conflicts between the revenue-collectors and the ryots were of course natural in Mughal India, because of the 'habitual reluctance' on the part of the Indian peasants to pay to the remote 'urban' state from which they derived little benefit in return and about the continuity of which they always entertained doubts. Thus, as Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: "The collection of the revenue was always the result of a struggle between the ryot and the *sarkar* and the arrears were seldom if ever cleared. The next logical step in this vicious circle was for the Government collectors to exact from the ryot, under the name of the never-to-be-extinguished arrears, everything except his bare subsistence." The peasants did not, however, suffer eviction for default and it should be noted that the 'custom of payment by the division of the crop,' which depended on the actual harvest of the year, was more advantageous than the modern money rent, whereby the fixed amount is to be paid irrespective of the produce of different years. The lower revenue officials 'were incurably corrupt, while the highest were, on the whole, just and statesmanlike' with very few exceptions.

Besides regular revenues, *abwabs* were sometimes levied on the peasants. These *abwabs* may be classified under the following heads:

(1) Duties on the sale of produce. (2) Fees on the sale of immovable property. (3) Perquisites taken by the officers for their own sake and fees or commissions taken for the state. (4) License-tax for carrying on certain trades. (5) Forced subscriptions. (6) Imposts on the Hindus, *e.g.*, tax on bathing in the Ganges and for carrying the bones of dead Hindus for throwing into the Ganges.

A number of *abwabs* were abolished by Aurangzeb (1673), though some of these continued to be levied till even the nineteenth century. The emperors were "for ever issuing orders to their officers to show leniency and consideration to the peasants in collecting the revenue, to give up all *abwabs*, and to relieve local distress."[44] Even Shahjahan, whose extravagant wars and buildings must have weighed heavily upon his subjects, seems to have been solicitous about their welfare ; his Diwan, Sadullah Khan, was a responsible officer, possessing a high sense of his duties and he is stated to have declared that " a *diwan* who did not do justice to the ryots was a demon sitting with a pen and an inkpot before him." There are certain instances in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb of harsh and extortionate revenue officials and even provincial governors being dismissed on the complaints of the subjects against them reaching the ear of the emperors.

Aurangzeb abolished many *abwabs*, but added certain no less questionable new sources of revenue. The revival of the *jaziya* gave a large income to the state. He also issued elaborate regulations for the guidance of his revenue officers. But the whole administrative machinery was getting out of order in Aurangzeb's reign[45] and the peasants became exposed to the caprices and extortions of the local officers in spite of regulations. Such is the defect of autocracy : when the central authority becomes weak or pre-occupied with affairs other than administration, the local officers invariably create disorder in the midst of which they thrive.

II

Theoretically, every able-bodied citizen of the empire was a soldier of the imperial army. But for effective practical services Akbar organised the army on the basis of the *mansabdari* system. The *mansab* was a somewhat unique system and it conveyed a complex idea. In a general sense, it meant rank, dignity or service. Irvine, an authority on the history of the Mughal army, writes that its object was "to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay." One who held a *mansab* was bound to render military or other services to the state. Akbar divided the office-holders into thirty-three grades, and the lowest *mansab* was that of 20 men, going up to 5,000. Grades between 7,000 and 10,000 were reserved for the members of the royal family, though later in the reign of Akbar exceptions were made in the case of certain officers like Man Singh, Todar Mal and Qulich Khan. The Emperor kept in his own hands the appointment, promotion, suspension and dismissal of the *mansabdars*. "When a new man was appointed to a mansab it was his duty to enroll the number of horsemen required under the rules; and these were examined at a muster to make sure that men, horses and accoutrement came up to the required standard. In strictness the recruit furnished his own horse, but in practice the *mansabdar* often supplied him with horses and equipment." A *mansabdar* did not always begin from the lowest grade. The Emperor might appoint anyone to any grade according to his will, and thus one might be appointed to the highest grade without passing through the lower ones. A *mansabdar's* dignity was not hereditary, and his sons had to begin their career anew after the death of their father. Civil officers also, high or low, held *mansabs*. The *mansabdars* formed the only aristocracy in the land—an official nobility,—and this system was the "army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one."[46] Each class received a definite rate of pay out of which the holder was required to maintain a certain number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts according to his rank. But it is doubtful if the *mansabdars* kept the number up to their dignity. Irvine writes that "in spite of musterings and brandings

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[44] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 80.

[45] The decline in administrative efficiency is noted by contemporaries as early as 1660, and by 1680 it is made one of the main grounds of the Remonstrances issued by the Marathas, the Rajputs and Prince Akbar.

[46] *J. I. H.*, 1930, p. 138.

we may safely assume that very few *mansabdars* kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemen for which they received pay."[47] The whole *mansabdari* personnel was divided into two classes: (1) those present at Court (*hazir-i-rikab*), and (2) those on duty in the provinces (*ta'īnātian*). There were periodical transfers from one list to the other.

Scholars have found much difficulty in catching the distinction between the *Zat* and *Sawar* ranks. The correct view seems to be that the *Zat* was the personal rank of a *mansabdar*, to which was added an additional body of *Sawars* or horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw an extra allowance, and this rank was known as his *Sawar* rank. The grading within each class varied according to addition of *Sawars* or horsemen. 'From 5,000 downwards, an officer was First class (or grade), if his rank in *Zat* and *Sawar* were equal; Second class, if his *Sawar* was half his *Zat* rank; Third class, if the *Sawar* was less than half the *Zat*, or there was no *Sawar* at all.'[48] In theory there might be a *Zat* rank without a *Sawar* rank; but there was no *Sawar* rank without a *Zat* rank.

The *mansabdari* system offered strong temptations to corruption and abuse. "False musters" says Irvine, "were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend to each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers."[49] Precautions were taken against this evil practice: *Chihrahs* or descriptive rolls of *mansabdars* (containing the names of the *mansabdars*, their father's name, their tribe or caste, their place of origin and details of their personal appearances) were kept, the system of branding horses (*Dāgh-o-mahallī* or *dāgh*) was revived and elaborate regulations were made for periodical musters. But these measures could not completely check the evil practice and Dr. Smith writes that "the Bengal revolt of 1580 was partly due to the resentment provoked by his (Akbar's) insisting on the resumption of *jagirs*, the preparation of descriptive rolls, and the systematic branding of horses."[50]

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[47] *The Army of Indian Moghuls*, p. 59.

[48] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 364.

[49] *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 45.

Besides the *mansabdars*, there were other soldiers called the *Dakhilis* or *Ahadis*. The *Dakhilis* were a body of troops placed under the command of the *mansabdars* but paid by the state.[51] The *Ahadis* were gentlemen troopers, a special class of horsemen, recruited individually by the Emperor himself to serve as his bodyguards though occasionally they discharged other miscellaneous functions.[52] There was a separate staff for the *Ahadis* with a *Diwan* and a *Bakhshi*, and one of the great *amirs* was appointed to act as their chief. In the time of Akbar many *Ahadis* drew more than Rs. 500 a month ; Jahangir on his coronation raised their salary by fifty per cent ; but in 1708 about 4,700 extra *Ahadis* were ordered to be enlisted at Rs. 50 a month.

Akbar abolished the system of paying the troops by grants of *jagirs*, turned the *jagirs* into *khalsa* lands, as a *jagir* meant a kind of state within a state. As far as possible, he paid his *mansabdars* by cash salaries.

Put in modern terms, the Mughal fighting forces were composed of : (1) infantry, (2) artillery, (3) cavalry, (4) the navy. But each of these branches of the defence did not possess equal importance or military efficiency. The infantry was largely composed of men assembled together without regard to rank or file, and as a 'part of the fighting strength of the army it was insignificant.' It included foot-soldiers, transport-bearers, camp-followers, and others totally unacquainted with the mode of fighting. Its principal parts were: (1) (a) *Banduqchi* or matchlock-men arranged in grades, under the supervision of a separate *Bitickchi* or *Daroga*, and (b) the *Shamsherbaz*, who fought with their swords; (2) (a) *Darbans* or porters, one thousand of whom guarded the palace, and (b) *Khidmatiyas*, who remained alert round the palace; (3) the *Mewras*, fast runners recruited from Mewat and expert in reconnoitring and detective work; (4) *Pahalwans* or wrestlers; (5) *Chelas* or slaves; (6) *Kahars* or litter-bearers.[53]

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[50] *Akbar*, p. 366.

[51] *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 254; Irvine, p. 260.

[52] *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 249-50.

Babar, Humayun and Bahadur Shah employed field-artillery in their wars. Besides being imported from outside guns were manufactured within the country; Abul Fazl writes of Akbar having special guns made for him according to his instructions. "The artillery was much more perfect and numerous in Alamgir's reign," remarks Irvine[54] "than it was under his great-grandfather Akbar," and this was due to increased contact with the European armies and the work of the Portuguese manufacturers and gunners. The Mughals were not themselves very proficient in artillery though they popularised it in North India; they had to depend on the help of the Rumis, *i.e.*, Muhammadans from Constantinople or Firangis (Franks), mostly Christian sailors from Surat coast being Portuguese half-castes. The head of the Artillery department was the *Mir Atash* or *Daroga-i-Topkhana*, who had an assistant called *Mushrif*.

The cavalry formed the most important part of the army. Irvine remarks: "The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only ; the foot-soldier they despised ; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a nightwatchman and guardian over baggage, either in camp or in the time of march." Akbar laid down minute rules for admission, muster, review and the like of horses, personally inspected the horses in his stables, and punished the officers if he found them negligent or corrupt. In fact, the whole *mansabdari* system was organised on the basis of the cavalry arm.

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[53] '*Chela*' comes from Cheta or Cheḍa (f. Chetī or Cheḍī)=slave; from this comes the secondary sense of disciple, cf. 'bāndā'=slave, and disciple. 'Kāhār' comes from 'Kāya-hara,' 'body-bearer;' it is now the name of a caste. 'Pahalwan' comes from 'Pahlava' or Parthian.

[54] *The Army*, etc., p. 116.

The navy was by no means so strong or important as the other branches of the imperial defence. The *Ain* writes of an Admiralty department, which managed a fleet of boats. The duties of this department were : (*a*) the fitting of strong boats capable of transporting war-elephants (Akbar was very fond of elephants and maintained an elephant corps) ; (*b*) the recruitment of expert seamen ; (*c*) supervision of the rivers ; (*d*) the remission of tolls for enabling the boatmen to earn proper wages.[55]

It is very difficult to determine accurately the average total strength of the Mughal army, and there is no unanimity of opinion among the scholars on this point. Dr. Smith writes that Akbar " did not maintain a large standing army, equipped at the expense of the state and paid directly from his treasury, as the Maurya kings in ancient days are said to have done. Most of his military strength consisted of the aggregate of irregular contingents raised and commanded either by autonomous chieftains or by high imperial officers."[56]

[55] *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 270.

[56] *Akbar*, p. 360.

Blochman estimates the strength of the regular army at 25,000, but this does not seem to be a likely figure. Dr. Horn points out on the basis of the *Zat* list in *Ain* 30 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the army then comprised 384,758 cavalry and 3,877,557 infantry but Irvine has rejected these figures as extravagant.[57] Monserrate, who accompanied Akbar in his Kabul expedition, writes that at that time the Emperor had 45,000 cavalry equipped and paid by himself, 5,000 elephants and many thousand infantry. Thus these differing writers do not help us very much in forming a definite idea of the real strength of the army. There are no facts to support the statement of Dr. Smith that " in ordinary years he did not incur the expense of keeping under arms a force at all as large as that raised to defeat his brother's attack."[58] The figures given by Monserrate About Akbar's army are not extraordinarily high. Moreover, Akbar had to be busy throughout his reign either in making new conquest or in suppressing revolts. This could not have been possible without the existence of a large standing army always ready for service. Hawkins notes that under Jahangir the army numbered three to four lakhs. There could be no reason for a sudden rise to this strength in the time of Jahangir, because " the military problems of Jahangir's reign were far less serious than those of Akbar." It seems, therefore, admissible on a modest computation that " the army in Akbar's day was much larger than 25,000 and that it could not have been less than three lakhs."[59] According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, the imperial army in 1648 amounted under the one-fourth rule to 200,000 horse (which comprised 8,000 *Mansabdars*, 7,000 *Ahadis* and *Barqandaz* horsemen and 185,000 ordinary horsemen) and 40,000 infantry (out of which 10,000 remained at court and the rest in the provinces and in the forts). Besides these there were other troops in the *parganas* under the *faujdars, kroris* and *amils,* and so the total numerical strength of Shahjahan's army was very great. Aurangzeb also maintained a huge army for his continuous wars in the North-West Frontier and in Rajputana and the Deccan.

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[57] *Army*, pp. 59—61.

[58] *Akbar*, p. 361.

[59] Ishwari Prasad, *Muslim Rule*, p. 476.

Military efficiency is an indispensable condition for the growth and maintenance of imperialism, and it is difficult therefore to agree with Dr. Smith's remark that "Akbar's military organisation was intrinsically weak, although it was far better than that of his happy-go-lucky neighbours. His army could not have stood for a moment against the better kinds of contemporary European troops."[60] About this last point also we cannot be sure, for there were no definite trials of strength between the Portuguese and Akbar which might warrant such a statement, while on the other hand the Portuguese in India certainly were crushed by Shahjahan. Akbar's army was not "essentially inefficient" as Dr. Smith thinks it to have been ; but it was not without its defects. Thus, as in the continental feudal system, the soldiers did not owe direct fealty to the Emperor but were more attached to their immediate recruiters and leaders. Divided command and mutual jealousies and rivalries of the generals specially in the seventeenth century often stood in the path of success in a military enterprise. Then, the army was composed of diverse elements, each of which tried to follow its own peculiar methods and manœuvres ; thus there was often a lack of common plan of action. ✓As years went on, the numerical strength of the army increased, but it became unmanageable and cumbrous. Discipline in the army became lax, and the soldiers became addicted to the vices of the luxurious camp life. Protracted campaigns in distant lands resulting in repeated failures seriously affected the morale of the army, and during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, it became incapable of "swift action or briliant adventure," and its inefficiency encouraged aggression and penetration both from the North-West as well as from the South and the sea coasts.

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[60] *Akbar*, pp. 66-67.

SECTION II

Social and Economic Life in Mughal India

Mere political history can give but little interest if we have no knowledge of the social and economic conditions of a country. Our sources for the study of the social and the economic life of the people in Mughal India are not so abundant as for that of political history. But the accounts of the foreign travellers, who visited India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the contemporary records of the European factories in India supply us with some valuable information. We also find incidental references in some contemporary historical works in Persian as well as in contemporary vernacular literatures.

Society in Mughal India presented the picture of a feudal structure with the king at its head. Below the king there were nobles holding important offices under the government and enjoying thereby special honours and privileges, which were denied to the common people. This caused a great difference in the standard of living of those who lived at or about the central or provincial courts and those who lived away from them ; the former maintained a high standard of comforts and luxury while the latter led humble and miserable lives.[61] The nobles rolled in wealth and indulged in extravagances, spending almost all that they earned,—since there was no strictly hereditary nobility, and properties lapsed to the state after the acquirer's death. Excessive addiction to wine and women was their general weakness. Large *harems* were maintained by the emperors as well as the nobles and it is noted in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Akbar had a seraglio containing 5,000 women, who were under a separate staff of female officers.[62] Pelsaert, the chief of the Dutch Factory at Agra in the time of Jahangir, writes that the *mahals* of the rich were " adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness " and he speaks in strong terms about their debauchery.[63]

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[61] The *Remonstrantie* of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch by Moreland and Geyl, p. 60; Bernier's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 205.

They enjoyed rich food and costly dinners.[64] Delicious fruits were imported from Bokhara and Samarqand, and it is noted in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that " all ranks use ice in summer, the nobles use it throughout the year."[65] Meat of different kinds was commonly taken, but beef seldom ; it is stated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that " the cow is considered auspicious, and held in great veneration because by means of this animal tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life rendered possible, and the table of the inhabitants is filled with milk and butter." Valuable dresses and jewellery were used by the nobles and we know from Abul Fazl that 1,000 complete suits of costly stuff were prepared every year for his Majesty. The nobles lived in palatial and lavishly decorated houses, and they took part in various sports and amusements.

Below the nobles there was ' a small and frugal ' middle class, free from ' ostentatious expenditure.' The officers recruited from this class lived on a standard suited to their respective offices. But their condition was not very prosperous as is shown by the remarks about the prices of food under different dynasties. The mercharts led simple and temperate lives ; they lived in a state of 'studied indigence' and concealed their wealth for fear of being deprived of it by the provincial governors. This is a contrast to the state of affairs three or four centuries earlier, when in Bengal, for instance, the merchants are reported to have had a very high standard of living. Some of the European writers have, however, noted that the merchants on the west coast, who engaged in commerce on a large scale, indulged in luxuries and led comparatively rich lives.

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[62] Blochman, Vol. II, pp. 44-45.

[63] *The Remonstrantie*, etc., pp. 64—66.

[64] Compare the dinner given by Asaf Khan to Sir Thomas Roe, Terry's *Voyage to the East India*. pp. 195—98.

[65] It should be noted that Indian towns (*e.g.*, Rajmahal) in the eighteenth century had ice-factories, and towns within manageable distance of the Himalayas had regular supplies of ice from the upper ranges, brought down by elephant or camel posts.

The lot of the lower classes was hard as compared with that of the two upper classes. Their clothing was generally insufficient and it was not possible for them to use woollen garments or shoes. Apparently they did not suffer much from want under normal conditions for chronic economic depression and suppression had made their wants very few ; but famines occasionally disturbed their peaceful, contented or resigned course of life.

Francisco Pelsaert writes on the basis of his seven years' experience of the country that there were in his time "three classes of people who are indeed nominally free but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery—workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers."[66] The workmen received low wages ; they were subject to the oppressions of the nobles and the royal officers, and were sometimes forced to work for them, receiving insufficient remuneration or nothing at all in return. They lived on poor food, and took one meal a day for which they got "nothing but a little *khichri* made of 'green pulse' mixed with rice." Their houses were built of mud with thatched roofs and contained no furniture at all except some earthen pots and their humble beds. Peons or servants were available in large numbers. They received low wages but were allowed the customary commission or *dasturi*, and very few of them served their master honestly. If the masters held office or power, the servants became arrogant "oppressing on the innocent and sinning on the strength of their master's greatness." The shopkeepers were held in greater respect than the workmen and some of them were even well-to-do. But generally they kept their wealth concealed or, as Pelsaert writes, "they will be victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour." Moreover, they were required to sell their articles at cheap prices to the imperial officers.

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[66] *The Remonstrantie*, etc., pp. 60-61.

The vice of intemperance, which was greatly prevalent among the nobles, was not common among the other classes. Terry remarks: "none of the people there are at any time seen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom."[67] The same writer also notes that the common people were very temperate in their diet. Rice was the staple food, pilau was a favourite dish; and butter was widely used.[68] The people were generally civil to strangers.

The Hindus as well as the Muslims used jewels and metallic ornaments. Terry speaks of the Muslim women that they wore veils, had ear-pendants and nostril-rings, and the rich among them used jewellery.[69] The Muslims worshipped a number of *pirs* or saints[70] and observed the Id and Muharram festivities. Pelsaert notes that on the Id day " every one who is able will sacrifice a goat in his house and keep the day as a great festival."[71] Great bitterness existed between the Shia and Sunni sects, and each called the other *Kafirs* or infidels.[72]

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[67] *A Voyage to East India*, pp. xi, 232.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 193—99.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

The Hindus were " more punctilious and much stricter than the Moslems in their ceremonies."[73] It was a regular habit with them to take daily baths, and they believed so much in the sanctity of the Ganges water that sometimes they travelled 500 or 600 *cosses* for having a dip in its sacred waters.[74] Some of the Brahmans were good astronomers and were also proficient in astrology. Both the Hindus and the Muslims believed in the maxims of astrology, and the Hindu astrologers thus exercised some influence over the Muslim rulers and society.[75] Most of the Hindus cremated their dead ; but some of them (especially those who were too poor to afford the cost of a cremation) " broil the bodies with stubble, near the side of a river, and then precipitate them into the water from a high and steep bank."[76] Sometimes they carried the sickman, when at the point of death, to the river side and thrust his whole body into water, when he was about to die.[77]

Sati[78] and child-marriage were prevalent. Bernier saw at Lahore a beautiful girl of twelve years burning on the funeral pyre of her husband.[79] De la Valle refets to the marriage of two boys, who had to be carried on horseback with the help of grown-up men.[80] In marriages, the bridegroom or the bride had no share in the choice, and the selection was made by the parents or by the relatives. We have some knowledge of Akbar's ideas and regulations about marriage from the *Ain-i-Akbari*.[81] He abhorred marriages before the attainment of puberty by either party ; he maintained that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, as well as the permission of the parents, were absolutely necessary for marriage-contracts ; he regarded marriages between near relatives as improper, disapproved of high dowries and discouraged plurality of wives in ordinary society (though he himself had a large *harem*); he provided for appointment of two sober men to enquire into the circumstances of the parties contracting a marriage, and took a tax from both parties. It is doubtful if all these were effective in practice.

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[70] Pelsaert, p. 69.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[75] *Ibid.* This state of things prevailed so late as the end of the eighteenth century (*vide* K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, pp. 92—106).

[76] Bernier *Travels*, p. 315.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 314; Pelsaert, p. 78.

[79] Bernier, p. 314.

Towards the end of Shahjahan's reign, the peasants were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of the provincial governors, and were reduced to worse conditions. In certain parts of the country, the highways became unsafe,[82] and the evils of pauperism were widely prevalent.[83] The reign of Aurangzeb saw greater deterioration in society. The old nobility endowed with various qualities and possessed of great initiative and independence of spirit disappeared and there appeared a class of 'smaller men,' whose intellectual tastes and mental strength were dwarfed under the pressure of Aurangzeb's excessive vigilance and obstinacy. "As the nobles set the tone to society, the whole of the intellectual classes of India slowly fell back to a lower level."[84] This inevitably caused moral degeneration. Luxury drained their moral and material substance, and the influence of the *harems*, where they were brought up in the company of women and eunuchs, filled their minds with degrading vices. Superstitions of various kinds got a strong hold over the minds of the people. Belief in sorcery and witchcraft increased and human beings were sacrificed " to aid the quest for gold and the elixir vitæ, though it was criminal in law and punished whenever detected."[85] Slaves existed in abundance, and eunuchs were very often made and sold. But if the nobles led such degraded and corrupted lives, "among the teeming millions of Indian people (Hindus as well as Muslims) life was pure and not without its simple colour and joy."[86] Vaishnavism and popular songs and stories and pilgrimages to holy places infused religious fervour and tenderness into the hearts of the Hindu masses, while the Muslim masses received pleasure from visits to the tombs of their saints and to holy places like Ajmer, Kulbarga and Burhanpur.

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[80] *Travels*, p. 31.

[81] Vol. I, *Ain*, 24. pp. 277-78.

[82] Tavernier, *Travels*, I, p. 41.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 392. Tavernier notes that there were 800,000 Muhammadan fakirs and 1,200,000 Hindu mendicants.

[84] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V. pp. 455-56.

In the time of the later Mughals the contact between the Hindus and the Muslims in social and religious life, which had begun in the earlier period, continued, in spite of several setbacks. We find important illustrations of this even in the reign of the orthodox Emperor Aurangzeb: Alwal, a Muhammadan poet, translated the Hindi poem *Padmavati* into Bengali and wrote several poems on Vaishnava subjects in the seventeenth century.[87] Abdulla Khan, one of the Sayyid brothers, observed the *Basant* and *Holi* festivals.[88] In the mid-eighteenth century Sirajuddaulah and Mir Jafar enjoyed *Holi* festivals along with their friends and relatives.[89] It is said that, on his death-bed, Mir Jafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kiriteswari, near Murshidabad. The Muhammadans offered 'puja' at Hindu temples as the Hindus offered 'sirni' at mosques. Daulat Rao Sindhia and his officers joined the Muharram procession in green dress like the Muhammadans.[90] A modern writer has described on the authority of *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, a Persian weekly of the good old days, how Durga Puja was celebrated at the Delhi court so late as 1825.[91]

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[85] *Ibid.*, p. 463.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 469.

[87] D. C. Sen, *History of Bengal Language and Literature*, p. 624.

[88] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 100.

[89] For details, *vide* K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, pp. 92—106.

Social practices like *Sati*, child-marriage, Kulinism, and dowry-system, increased during the eighteenth century, particularly in Bengal. We have many references to these practices in contemporary literature as well as in the works of foreign writers like Bolts,[92] Craufurd,[93] and Scrafton.[94] Early marriage was a noticeable feature of the Bengali society. Craufurd remarked: "The Hindus are so scrupulous with respect to the virginity of their brides that they marry extremely young, although consummation is deferred."[95] This was also a period of triumphant Kulinism and marriages in Kulin families were generally attended with troubles and quarrels. Polygamy became almost a regular practice with the Kulins as they expected a substantial dowry in every marriage. The dowry-system was not, however, general and never so shocking among the non-Kulins.

Acceptance of dowry was not encouraged at that time in the Maratha society. The Peshwas exercised a control over social and religious affairs, and " the marriage regulations of the Peshwas," remarks Dr. S. Sen, " evinced a liberal spirit that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants."[96] Baji Rao passed strict regulations against " any exaction by the bride's father from the bridegroom." The Peshwas did not also allow forcible marriages[97] but sometimes they tolerated informal marriages if the motive was good.[98] Widow-remarriage was prevalent among the non-Brahmans of Maharashtra[99] and " marriage of a woman to a second husband in case of prolonged and continued absence of the first, depriving her of any means of livelihood was also permitted."[100] Widow-remarriage was also prevalent among the Jats (of the Punjab and Jamuna valley), and polyandry was a common practice among them.[101] They were less under Brahman influence than the Rajputs. " Except in the case of very rich men, their women work openly in the fields, and the men have never had the Brahman or Rajput repugnance to the daily drudgery of agriculture."[102] It is said that in Bengal Raja

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[90] Dr. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 401.

[91] Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali in *Bengal: Past and Present*, July—September, 1932.

[92] Bolts' *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 7.

[93] *Sketches of the Hindus*, Vol. II, Sketch XII.

[94] *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 110-11.

[95] Craufurd, *Sketches*, etc., Vol. II, p. 2.

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[96] *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 415. The Peshwas were " uncommonly tolerant and generous to people who professed a faith other than their own " (the Muhammadans, the Parsis, and even the Portuguese).

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 406.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[101] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 83. The system of polyandry also obtained (as it does now) among the Tibetants ' not as a perverse law but as a necessary institution ' : Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 31. In the N. W. Himalayan regions adjacent to Indian plains, this custom still obtains. The 1931 census figures show an excess of about six lakhs in married males over married females in India, notwithstanding polygamy amongst a considerable proportion of Muslims : this means that polyandry has still a fair following.

[102] *Ibid.*

Rajballabh of Dacca made an unsuccessful attempt in the mid-eighteenth century to introduce widow-remarriage.[103]

Women in general were held in high esteem. Mr. Dow remarked: "Women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The *harem* is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives."[104] There are numerous instances of women saving their honour at the risk of their lives.[105] They were generally "subject to the will of their masters;" but sometimes they could go above this state of dependence and took active parts even in political affairs. Rani Bhavani of Natore was not the only one, though the most prominent figure, among this class of women. Farrukhsiyar's mother played an important part in securing the throne for her son;[106] the talented Rahimun-nissa, known to her contemporaries as Koki Jiu,[107] effectually interfered in public affairs during the reign of Muhammad Shah; and the Begam of Nawab Alivardi was a good political adviser to her husband[108] at court or in the field.

We notice further demoralisation of the court and the nobility during the times of Jahandar Shah and Muhammad Shah. Lal Kunwar's influence on Jahandar Shah destroyed all his sense of decorum and exercised a rapidly degenerating influence on the whole court.[109] The nobles lost their military and administrative abilities more and more. Sir J. N. Sarkar has remarked that " to the thoughtful student of Mughal history nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins. Abdur-Rahim and Mahabat, Sadullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrahim and Islam Khan Rumi—who had made the history of India in the seventeenth century—were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson even half as capable as themselves."[110] The repeated and terrible succession wars and rebellions carried away large numbers of the old nobles, and the weak character of the later Mughals was also responsible for the further decline of the Mughal nobility. They could neither govern themselves, nor had they the tact to select the right sort of men and give them opportunities for acquiring further experience. On the other hand, they indulged in the society of light women, buffoons and flatterers. Thus when " career was not open to talent " and men rose to power through corruption and patronage of the ignoble, the nobles saw that " their only hope of personal safety and advancement " lay in carving out principalities for their own families and in asserting their independence at the opportune moment. Thus the nobility of this period had no strong loyalty to the empire.

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[103] K. K. Datta, *Education and Social Amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutiny India*, p. 44.

[104] K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, pp. 29—32.

[105] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 281.

[106] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 263.

[107] She was the daughter of Jan Muhammad, originally a Hindu-born thatcher in Old Delhi, who became a Muhammadan in his childhood and took to the profession of a fortune-teller. Her father's influence increased gradually and the daughter also soon became associated with the Imperial Court under Muhammad Shah.

[108] *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, (Eng. Trans.) p. 11; Holwell, *I.H.E.*, p. 170.

While the nobles were on their downward path, we find middle-class men like Omichand, Sarupchand, Fatechand (Jagat Seths), Khwaja Wazid, etc., rising by trade and banking in Eastern India, and also men like Shitab Ray of Patna and Itsamuddin of Nadia (the author of *Sagarfnamah-i-Wilyat* gaining influence in provincial as well as imperial courts. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century the Delhi administration was flooded by clerks and officials hailing from Bengal and Bihar. This period also witnessed the dislocation of the old landed aristocracy and the rise of a new one from middle-class speculators and adventurers, by the extension of the revenue-farming system since 1712, which had the effect of periodically bringing in and turning out Zamindars of diverse origin.

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[109] Irvine, Vol. I, pp. 192—97.

[110] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 308.

Our information about the economic condition of India during the reigns of Babar and Humayun is meagre. Babar's description of the condition of Hindustan, as given in his *Memoirs*, has not been accepted by historians as very accurate. In Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun-namah* there is an incidental reference to the cheap prices of articles in Hindustan, and it has been also noted that at Amarkot, the birth-place of Akbar, four goats could be purchased for one rupee. Sher Shah introduced certain important economic reforms,[111] about which we have already said something. He reconstructed the old tariff system by abolishing all internal customs and by allowing the levy of duties only on the frontier and at the place of sale within the empire. He reformed the currency system by "making a clean sweep of the old mixed metal currency and other anomalies" and by issuing a new copper coin known as the *dam* with its subdivisions of halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths.

We get some idea about economic condition of the people from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb chiefly from the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, from a few references in some other contemporary works, from the accounts of the foreign travellers, and from contemporary factory records. Under Akbar the *dam*, *paisa*, or *fulus* remained. It was a copper coin weighing 1 *tolah*, 8 *mashahs* and 7 *surkhs* and was the fortieth part of the rupee.[112] For account purposes the *dam* was divided into twenty-five parts, each of which was called a *jital*. Mercantile affairs of the kingdom were generally transacted in *round muhurs*, rupees and *dams*, and there were excellent qualities of silver and gold coinage. The currency was not much altered after Akbar's death. In Akbar's time the value of the rupee was generally 2s. 3d. in English money and it contained 175 grains of silver.[113] De Laet remarked in 1631 that rupees ranged in value from 2s. to 2s. 9d. Up to 1616 the official rate of exchange was 40 *dams* for a rupee, and from 1627 onwards the rupee was worth 30 *dams* or a little more or less.[114] There were rupees of several denominations in circulation, but " at any particular time the current issue (known as *Chalani*) was accepted as the standard, and the older issues (known as *Khazana*) were received subject to discount of varying amount, while worn coins were also subject to discount."[115]

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[111] Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 373.

In *Ain* 81 we have an exhaustive list about the wages of labourers,[116] which shows that the wages were not high. An unskilled labourer received two *dams* or four-fifths of an anna in modern currency, while a first class labourer (*e.g.*, a carpenter) got seven *dams* or three annas in modern currency per day. These low wages did not affect the people very much, because of 'the extraordinary cheapness of food.'

In *Ain* 27 Abul Fazl has given an elaborate list of the prices of articles, and a note on the prices of important articles will enable us to form an idea of the general cheapness of the things needed for ordinary life in Akbar's time:

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[112] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 31.

[113] Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Appendix D.

[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

[115] *Ibid.*, Appendix D.

[116] Vol. I, p. 225.

Articles	Per *man*	In *dams*	Articles	Per *man*	In *dams*
Wheat	,,	12	Mustard-seed ...	,,	12
Wheat flour ...	,,	22	*Mash*	,,	16
Coarse flour ...	,,	15	*Moth*	,,	12
Barley	,,	8	*Mung*	,,	18
Barley flour ...	,,	11	Ghee	,,	105
Millet	,,	6	Oil	,,	80
Mushkin (best) paddy	,,	100	Milk	,,	23
Sathi (worst) rice ...	,,	20	Curd	,,	18
Jowar	,,	10	Refined sugar ...	,,	6
Gram	,,	16½	White sugarcandy...	,,	5½
Linseed ...	,,	10	White sugar ...	,,	128
Peas	,,	6	Brownsugar ...	,,	56
	,,				

Vegetables, spices, meat and livestock sold very cheaply. One could get a Hindustani sheep at Rs. 1/8 each, Kashmiri sheep at the same rate, mutton at 65 *dams* per *man* and goat's meat at 54 *dams* per *man;* and in the province of Delhi a cow could be purchased for Rs. 10. Milk sold at 25 *dams* per *man*. Terry has remarked that fish were purchasable " at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuing "[117] and that " the plenty of provisions was very great throughout the whole country; " " every one there may eat bread without scarceness."[118] Dr. Smith admits that " the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir probably had more to eat than he has now,"[119] though Mr. Moreland opines that " speaking generally the masses lived on the same economic plane as now."[120] The prices were low no doubt but the average income of the masses was proportionately as low or lower, so that there was no golden age then.

[117] *Voyage*, etc., p. 89.

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[119] *Akbar*, p. 394.

[120] *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 270.

The great cities were prosperous and full of plenty. At the time of Sher Shah and Islam Shah " Lahore was a large and flourishing city, the centre of a rich trade, and amply furnished with every useful and costly production of the times."[121] Fitch writing in 1585 remarked: "Agra and Fatehpore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatehpore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market."[122] Terry speaks of the Punjab as " a large province, and most fruitful. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the principal cities for trade in all India."[123] Monserrate writes that Lahore was not second to any city in Europe or Asia. Its shops contained all kinds of merchandise and the streets were full of dense crowds. Burhanpur in Khandesh was " very great, rich and full of people." Abul Fazl speaks highly about the glories of Ahmadabad in Gujrat, " a noble city in a high state of prosperity," which " for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe is almost unrivalled."[124] Kabul was an important place of trade, where merchants from India, Persia and Tartary assembled.

Sher Shah constructed some roads connecting the important strategic points of his empire. But except certain highways the roads were generally unmetalled; the " main routes of land travel were clearly defined, in some cases by avenues of trees, and more generally by walled enclosures, known as *sarais*, in which travellers and merchants could pass the night in comparative security."[125] The rivers like the Indus, the

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[121] Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 469-70.

[122] Fitch, p. 98.

[123] *Voyage*, etc., p. 76, para, 10.

[124] *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 240.

Ganges, and the Jumna, which were navigable all throughout the year, were important highways and a large volume of heavy traffic passed through them throughout Northern India. In Bengal especially the rivers were frequently used for purposes of navigation. There were no permanent bridges over the rivers except a few such as one erected early in Akbar's reign by Munim Khan at Jaunpur. Ordinarily rivers were crossed by fords, ferries and bridges of boats.

Abul Fazl has given us the names of important crops growing in Northern India ; these were cereals, rice, wheat, barley, millets, pulses, sugarcane, fibres of cotton and hemp, oilseeds, indigo, poppy, *pan* and *singhara*, etc. Though there was no intense specialisation of crops as in the present day, yet some sort of it was not totally absent, for Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India and indigo was to a large extent produced in two places, Biyana near Agra and Sarkhej in Gujrat.[126] From Pelsaert's description[127] it appears that there was a large-scale production and manufacture of indigo, in the Jumna Valley and Central India south of it ; " the whole country was taken up by specialised commercial cultivation of that crop, and all the villages and towns engaged in one or other process of the manufacture and export of indigo, foodstuffs being imported from lower Gangetic provinces," which attracted European as well as native traders. Tobacco was introduced either late in 1604 or early in 1605 and after this people began to cultivate it in India. Agricultural implement were almost the same as are used in the present day,—ploughs and hoes, water-lifts and other minor implements. Draught oxen could be procured cheap and easily. There were no good engineer-

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[125] Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 6.

[126] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 10—18.

ing works for irrigation. Writing early in the sixteenth century, Babar noted the absence of irrigation canals in India and remarked that autumn crops were nourished by the rains while spring crops grew when no rains fell. There were a few inundation channels in Akbar's time and also the remains of the aqueducts constructed by Firoz Shah for supplying water to his cities and gardens, " but the value of those works was local, and the country as a whole depended either on wells or on the minor streams which were utilised by means of temporary dams."[128] Agriculture sometimes suffered from the oppression of the provincial governors and revenue officers.[129]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the people were frequently tormented by the outbreak of severe famines. In 1555-56 a famine broke out near Agra and Biyana. The historian Badaoni " with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. The whole country was a desert, and no husbandman remained to till the ground."[130] Gujrat, one of the richest provinces of India, was, between 1573—75, the scene of a terrible famine for six months which was followed by a pestilence, and the prices of articles rose high, so that " the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled from the country and were scattered abroad."[131] The country was subjected to the horrors of a terrible famine during the years 1595—98. It has been said that " men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal."[132] Epidemics and inundations aggravated the troubles and took away many lives. Akbar started some relief measures, e.g., during the famine of 1595—98 he placed Shaikh Farid of Bokhara, a man of kind disposition, in charge of relief measures.[133] Most probably the distress of the country was too great to be remedied by such steps. During Jahangir's reign the country was comparatively safe from the outbreak of famines and only one or two instances of famines are recorded. Terrible epidemic called *waba* or bubonic plague appeared in 1616 in the Punjab as far east as Delhi.[134] A contemporary Dutch account refers to a disastrous famine on the Coromandel coast about the year 1618-19.

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[128] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[129] Pelsaert, p. 47.

[130] Ranking's translation, Vol. I. pp. 549—51.

[131] Elliot, Vol. V, p. 384.

[132] Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 193.

In the reign of Shahjahan a terrible famine broke out during the year 1630-31 in the central parts of India (the Gangetic plain was not affected), and it produced disastrous effects on the different aspects of economic life, agriculture, trade and manufactures.[135] The produce of indigo in Gujrat was about one-twentieth of the normal ; it became scarce at Surat and by October 1630 arrangements were on foot to buy in Agra instead of at Ahmadabad. Provisions became dear, the prices of cotton goods rose high, while there was a fall in the price of gold and other imports. The roads became unsafe and the famine "disjointed all trade out of frame." The country gradually recovered from the evil effects of the famine by 1635. There were occasional outbreaks of famines during the succeeding years up to 1707 causing high prices of articles and affecting trade, but none of these was so severe as that of 1630-31.

Manufactures enjoyed encouragement from the State in its *Karkhanas*, where various kinds of stuff were produced. It has been mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Akbar improved the system of manufactures in four ways, and it gives a long list of silk and cotton manufactured goods.[136] He specially encouraged the production of the Kashmir shawls which were manufactured at Lahore and Kashmir. In his time good cotton cloths were manufactured at Patan in Gujrat, and at Burhanpur in Khandesh, while Sonargaon in the Dacca district was famous for its delicate muslin fabrics, " the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India.''[137] Pelsaert notes that in Chabaspur and Sonargaon " all live by the weaving industry and the produce has the highest reputation and quality.''[138] He also notes that the whole country from Orissa to East Bengal was as it were one huge cotton factory, all villages and towns being concerned in the production of cotton, yarns, and finishing of the goods and making them ready for home and foreign markets. Coverlets, ropes, bed-tapes and some other commodities were also produced. Fitch writes that a ' great store ' of cotton goods was manufactured at Benares, and Pelsaert also notes about the production of girdles, turbans, clothes for Hindu women, *gangazil* (' gangajali ' a fine white cloth) at that place.[139] Jaunpur produced and exported large quantities of cotton goods of various species.[140] The dyeing industry was also a flourishing one. Terry remarks that coarser cotton cloths were either dyed or painted (printed) with a " variety of well-shaped and well coloured flowers or figures, which are so fixed in the cloth that no water can wash them out.''[141] In order to meet the

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[133] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 399.

[134] Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 207; Terry, pp. 226—28.

[135] Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 210—19.

[136] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 91—96.

[317] Fitch, p. 94.

[138] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[140] *Ibid.*

[141] *Op. cit.*, pp. 108-09.

new demand of Western Europe there was an increased production of *calicoes* after Akbar.[142] In the district of Rungpur in Bengal "a kind of sack cloth" of jute was manufactured.[143] Silk weaving, though not so widely prevalent as cotton weaving, was practised in Mughal India. Abul Fazl speaks of the imperial patronage of silk manufacture and its consequent improvement. Bengal was the most important centre of silk production and manufacture. Mr. Moreland notes on the authority of Tavernier that about the middle of the seventeenth century the total output of silk in Bengal "was about 2½ million pounds out of which one million pounds were worked up locally, ¾ million were exported raw by the Dutch and ¾ million distributed over India, most of it going to Gujrat, but some being taken by merchants from Central Asia."[144] The ship-building industry was still alive in India at this time,[145] though the days of Indian maritime activity had passed, and we have descriptions of this in contemporary Bengali literature. The European trading powers often used Indian-made ships for their mercantile as well as fighting needs. Besides these main industries there were sundry fancy goods manufactured; thus Terry noticed that "many curious boxes, trunks, standishes (pen-cases), carpets, with other excellent manufactures, may be there had."[146] Pelsaert also saw that in Sind "ornamental disks, draught-boards, writing cases, and similar goods are manufactured locally in large quantities ; they are very prettily inlaid with ivory and ebony, and used to be exported in large quantities from Goa and the coast towns."[147]

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[142] Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 192.

[143] We have reference to such jute cloths in Bhāratcandra's *Annadāmangal*, a Bengali work of the mid-eighteenth century. This shows that manufacture of jute cloths continued right up to the middle of the eighteenth century if not later, and the jute industry of Bengal is not a new one as is often supposed. (In fact it is an ancient Indian industry.)

[144] *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 173.

[145] *Ibid.*

[146] *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

In the sixteenth century, India had a considerable foreign trade. She imported certain articles from different countries (European as well as Asiatic) and sent out her valuable exports. The imports consisted of gold, silver and other metals such as copper, tin, zinc, lead and chiefly various kinds of luxury goods such as costly stones, velvets, brocades, spices, perfumes, drugs and Chinese porcelain of high quality.[148] The foreign traders had not to pay high duties but traders were strictly forbidden to " carry any quantity of silver " out of the country. At Surat the duties were " 3½ per cent on all imports and exports of goods, and two per cent on money either gold or silver." India exported her various textile fabrics, pepper and a few minor spices, indigo, opium and other drugs. The chief ports of India beginning from the west were Lahori Bandar in Sindh ; the group of Cambay ports, the most important one being Surat, Broach and Cambay ; Bassein, lying just north of the island of Bombay, Chaul, at a short distance to the south, Dabul (modern Dabhol) in the Ratnagiri district, Goa and Bhatkal ; Malabar ports, of which Calicut and Cochin were the most important ; Negapatam and Masulipatam with a few minor ones on the east coast ; Satgaon, Sripur, Chittagong and Sonargaon in Bengal. Chittagong was the most important of all the Bengal ports ; it was designated " Porto Grande " and Satgaon was called " Porto Pequeno " in contradistinction to ' Porto Grande.' "[149]

Under Jahangir and Shahjahan, India enjoyed the benefits of manufacture and commerce. In the seventeenth century

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[147] *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

[148] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[149] Taylor, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture at Dacca*, p. 121.

Bernier saw many of the *Karkhanas* in which skilful artisans were employed in their work for the state. But at the same time he notes that the manufacturers and artisans were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of the nobles and officials, who forced goods from traders at low prices.[150] They also exacted forbidden *abwabs* from craftsmen and merchants.[151] Thus the manufacturers and the common people derived no good economic profit from the fine manufactures of the country. But this selfish policy of the nobles kept up the tradition of high class manufacture in the country.

Under Aurangzeb the economic outlook of the country became gloomy. Political order and peace are indispensably necessary for any kind of progress. The bankruptcy of his administration, the incessant wars and the consequent financial exhaustion of the empire, made the existence of political order and peace impossible. The peasants, who formed the backbone of economic prosperity in a country like India, as well as the industrial classes, were afflicted with great sufferings. Agriculture, village industries and industrial classes were greatly affected. In the Deccan, which was highly distracted by the Mughal-Maratha struggle, and by several other long continued wars with the Rajputs and the Deccan states, trade was almost at a stand-still. During the years 1690—98, the English could not get enough cloths for their European shipping.[152] "Thus ensued," remarks Sir J. N. Sarkar, "a great economic impoverishment of India—not only a decrease of the 'national stock,' but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilisation, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country."[153] Since the wars of Aurangzeb in the Peninsula were carried on with the resources of the

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[150] Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 254—256.

[151] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Chap. V.

[152] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 445.

[153] *Ibid*.

Bengal Subah, and since the rapidly dwindling Mughal Empire depended to a great extent on Bengal tributes for its extravagant expenditure, this subah was naturally put to a great economic strain, and the economic difficulties of Bengal began much earlier than 1757 (ordinarily supposed to mark the beginning of a dark age).

These evils increased during the eighteenth century when the whole of India was passing through a transitional period. Economic prosperity presupposes the existence of law and order. But the death of Aurangzeb was the signal for the outbreak of disorders throughout the different parts of India. Court revolutions and conspiracies, the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Durrani inroads, the distracted condition of the Punjab and the frontiers from 1739 to 1799, the ravages of the Marathas and the Himalayan tribes, and the piracies committed by the Mags[154] and the Portuguese, the oppressive revenue administration, currency troubles, and the abuse of extraordinary trade privileges practised by the English East India Company's servants in carrying on their private trade,—all combined to aggravate the troubles in the different economic spheres.

Fruitful commerce is a great asset of a country's prosperity. But the trade of India, especially of Bengal (European, Asiatic and internal), suffered from various evils during the eighteenth century. One striking feature of Bengal's foreign trade during the first half of that century was the flourishing private trade of the East India Company's ' servants,' which grew rapidly partly owing to the very low salaries given to those servants.[155] Interpreting Farrukhsiyar's *Firman* of 1717 to their own advantage, they abused the *dastaks* or passports of the Company for their own private trade. This deprived the state of its customs-revenue and made the indigenous and other merchants subject to unfair competition resulting in their decadence. Some of the ordinary Hindu merchants or *banias* also practised the same abuse, for the East India Company's *dastaks* could be purchased at prices between Rs. 25 and Rs. 200 each.[156] Alivardi, Sirajuddaulah and Mir Casim protested against these abuses in the field of trade, but their attempts ended in smoke, and the change of political power due to the revolutions of 1757 and 1764 led to their increase.

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[154] Compare the expression '*Mager muluk*.'

[155] About 1712 the ranks of the East India Company's employees were Presidents and Governors, Senior and Junior merchants, Factors and writers; the rates of their pay were Rs. 133-5-0. 26-8-0, 20-0-0, 10-0-0, and 3-5-0 per mensem respectively. Of course the purchasing power of the rupee was, at the lowest levels reached in that half century (e.g., during famines of 1710, 1751, etc.), about ten times higher than now; but even

The Dutch remained the only efficient commercial rival of the English East India Company till the middle of the eighteenth century ; the French, like the Portuguese, and the Danes, were pushed into the background by 1754, after a brief period of flourishing trade from October 1730 to 1741. In general the trade of the English East India Company prospered during this period, but it was on the other hand hampered by certain obstructions, as for example, occasional interference by the country's government officers and some zamindars,

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then it is unthinkable that a European (or Indian) clerk in a merchant office could live on about Rs. 30 a month, or that a Governor could be paid the salary of a sub-deputy collector of today.

[156] "The injustice to the Moors consists in that being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants and to trade custom-free, we under that pretence protected all the Nawab's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor merchants, and gave our *dastaks* or passes to numbers of natives to trade custom-free, to the great prejudice of the Nawab's revenue, nay more, we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom-free, and by numbers of their impositions (framed to raise the Company's revenue) some of which were ruinous to ourselves, such as taxes on marriages, provisions, transferring land property and caused eternal clamor and complaint against us at Court."—*Causes of the Loss of Calcutta*, by David Rannie, *Hill's Bengal, 1758-57, Vol. III, p. 384.*

currency troubles, the depradations committed by the Mags and the Portuguese pirates and mostly by the Maratha invasions.[157] The frequent incursions of the Maraths greatly affected the economic life of the people in general in its various aspects. Trade went on a downward course, manufacture was debased, industry deteriorated, agriculture was hampered, and the prices of provisions and other goods rose high.[158]

The period after 1757 has been generally pictured as 'the darkest age of Indian economic history.'[159] It has been pointed out by Mr. R. C. Dutt, the chief exponent of this view, that the greater part of the profits of the East India Company (arising out of trade and revenues of Bengal) were sent out to England and not utilised for the benefit of the country. It is also said that there was a currency muddle which followed as a necessary corollary to the 'drain' from Bengal and that this period also witnessed the decline of inland trade, manufactures, and agriculture, and the consequent impoverishment of the people. According to him all these disorders were due to the increased power of the Company after Plassey (without responsibility) and the ruinous commercial policy of the English Government at home. On the other hand, Mr. Hamilton avers that the general economic decline was not specially characteristic of the period, 1757—72. He writes emphatically: "I believe the theory so generally current which attributed the passage of India's Golden Age of manufacturing prosperity to England's commercial policy, to rest almost entirely upon a one-sided and inaccurate interpretation of economic history."[160] An impartial student of history will, however, note that no fresh and entirely novel history of India, economic or political, began with Plassey or 1757.

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[157] K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subch*, Vol. I, pp. 273—97.

[158] *Ibid.*, pp. 436—39.

[159] Dutt, *Ind'a Under Early British Rule.*

[160] *Trade Relations*, p. v.

There is no doubt about the growth of economic disorder in the thirty-five years following 1757; this was partly the natural concomitant of the shifting of political power; partly owing to the combination of trade and government by the East India Company, and to a series of unsuccessful economic experiments. But in the main the lines of economic decline had already been chalked out long ago early in the eighteenth century if not earlier thus, for example, the revenue-farming system or the currency difficulties of multiplicity and silver shortage were not the creation of 1757, but were legacies of a long past ; so also unsafety and disorders due to invasions, piracies and turbulence prevailed throughout the eighteenth century ; the obstruction of trade and productive activity by monopolies and abuse of trade privileges was no new thing in the fifties ; the 'drain' to Delhi and the prices paid for thrones were continuations of the established tradition. Yet it certainly made a difference, in that the country got less in return for the 'drain' in the latter half of the eighteenth than in the earlier half on account of an alien rule. It was also owing to the East India Company's supplanting the native government step by step that unemployment became more accentuated by disbanding of armies[161] and disestablishment of courts and native secretariats,[162] though it was also due to the effects of the revenue-farming system, *abwabs* and famines amongst agriculturists and to inland trade monopoly and oppression of 'investing' and 'dadni' merchants amongst traders and manufacturers. Widespread unemployment naturally produced lawlessness, and soldiers, retainers, and even Zamindars joined and exploited professional robbery and criminal tribes. The whole country became unsafe and robberies were committed even in Calcutta suburbs. This anarchy and insecurity desolated centres of agriculture and industry, which were turned into series of jungles and stray villages. In the midst of these came the great famine of 1770, which, combined with rigorous exaction of revenues, produced untold miseries on the people and caused further desertions of holdings and depopulations of villages.[163]

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[161] Mir Jafar dismissed 80,000 and the remainder of the army was disbanded after Mir Casim's attempt at recovery of power. As for example, Najmuddaulah, by the treaty of 1765, disbanded all troops retaining only a few for dignity and tax-gathering. Very small portion of disbanded soldiers found posts under the Company. Armed retainers and other followers of Zamindars were disbanded owing to their being reduced to beggary or dispossessment first under Mir Casim and then under the Company.

[162] Since 1757 the Bengal Nawab's income rapidly became smaller and smaller and the Court dwindled into insignificance, so that large numbers of Muhammadans and Bihari Hindus, who found employments in the civil administration or in the army or at Court, became unemployed. Unemployment grew also among traders and manufacturers owing to inland trade monopoly of East India Company's servants.

SECTION III

COURSE OF RELIGIOUS HISTORY, AND THE RELIGIOUS POLICIES OF THE MUGHAL SOVEREIGNS

Just as in other parts of the world, the sixteenth century was a century of religious revival in India. The ground had been prepared during the preceding two centuries, and we have already noted some of the presages of this reformation. The doctrines of the different popular reformation movements gave India 'a splendid awakening, the dominant note of which was Love and Liberalism.'[164] Along with the Hindu reformation movements, the chief forms of which have been pointed out before, there sprang up about this time certain movements within the fold of Islam such as the Mahdavi and the Roshni movements, which were creating a great religious ferment in the country when Akbar was called upon to consolidate his dominion in India. The genesis of the Mahdavi movement among the Muslims was that it laid stress on the expected appearance of a Messiah, or redeemer of the sins of mankind at the close of a millennium after the birth of Muhammad. The movement became very strong towards the close of the fifteenth century and agitated the minds of the Muslims throughout the sixteenth century in Arabia, Persia, Khorasan, Transoxiana and Hindustan. Sayyid Mahamad of Jaunpur, born about 1443 A.D., started the movement by professing himself to be the promised Mahdi. The followers of this movement organised themselves into a brotherhood, all of which had equal rights and shares. Shaikh Abdulla Niaz, an Afghan, and his disciple Shaikh Alai, contributed much towards the rapid progress of this movement in India. Side by side with this an almost similar current of religious movement known as the Roshni movement was flowing in Afghanistan. The followers of this movement called the Roshnis also believed in the coming in of a Messiah and in ecstatic communion with God to be attained by means of spiritual practices. In the sixteenth century Mulla Suleiman of Kalinjar and his disciple Shaikh Bayazid, the ' Pir-i-Raushan ' or apostle of light of the Roshnis, preached the doctrines of this movement. The creed of both the movements was militant and in both we find one posing himself as God's representative, and playing the role of both spiritual and temporal head.[165]

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[163] Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal.*

[164] *Vide* ante.

In spite of previous attempts to bring the Hindus and the Muslims into closer contact and of the beginning of mutual interchange of ideas and customs between the two communities, intolerance still reigned supreme and caused inequalities in the political field. With the exception of Zain-ul-Abedin of

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[165] *J.I.H.*, 1930, pp. 317—19.

Kashmir, Akbar was the first Muslim ruler in India who made an attempt to abolish all distinctions between Hindus and Mussalmans, and thus to modify the character of the Muslim State. Endowed with the genius of a statesman he realised that in India, where the Mughals were to establish their own authority by crushing the disaffected Afghans and by subjugating the Hindus, he could not afford to " make the former his political enemy and the latter religious helots." For his crusade against the anti-Mughal forces, he conciliated the Rajputs and inaugurated a policy of toleration towards the Hindus, which led him to abolish the Pilgrim tax in the eighth year and the *Jaziya* in the ninth year of his reign. Thus, as with his English contemporary Elizabeth, Akbar's religious policy was largely influenced by political considerations.

But besides temporal motives, his soul had an eager craving for the appreciation of truth, and occasionally " tempests of feeling had broken over Akbar's soul." Badaoni says that " he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building near the (Fatehpur) palace in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours." The divergent doctrines of the different religious sects and their strife with one another offended his feelings and he directed his energies " to the evolution of a new religion, which would, he hoped, prove to be a synthesis of all the warring creeds and capable of uniting the discordant elements of his vast empire in one harmonious whole."[166]

There were various influences which moulded his temperament and ultimately led him to found a new faith. First, there was the influence of heredity which " endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments, and reflect it in the best possible way." The descendants of Timur were men of enlightenment and scholarship, imbued with the liberal spirit of Sufism and were free from orthodoxy. Timur was not a mere ruthless conqueror; he drew the best elements of culture and art through his emissaries of peace from Persia, India and China and made Samarqand a centre of civilisation. His successors, notably Babar and Humayun, were also endowed with scholarly and æsthetic tastes. Akbar' own mother, who was the daughter of a Persian scholar, impressed upon his mind the value of toleration. Secondly, his marriage with the Rajput princesses, and contact with Hinduism and the cross-currents of the different reform movements, exerted a great influence on his mind. Lastly, the doctrines of Sufism saturated his mind with liberal and sublime ideas, carried him away from the path of Islamic orthodoxy and made him earnestly seek to "attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality." Very much like the kindred Vedantic philosophy, Sufism held that God alone is the absolute reality, individual human souls are emanations from His essence with which they are to be finally united, and that "the universe is nothing more than a combination of accidents united in a single essence in the Truth." The Sufists discarded all ceremonials and external observances, laid stress upon the spirit underlying all religions, insisted on free thought as the most indispensable condition for spiritual development, and by leading pious lives they aspired for the "beautific vision or union with God in an ecstatic state which has been considered as the quintessence of all happiness." The persecuting policy of the Safavi rulers of Persia drove many Sufi scholars to Samarqand, Bokhara, Herat and Kabul, and Akbar had an early contact with them during his residence in the court of Kabul, and a few years later Abdul Latif, 'a paragon of learning,' whom Bairam Khan appointed his tutor, imparted to his young pupil, then only sixteen, his tolerant ideas on religion. Thus "intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, up-bringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. He was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica."[167]

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[166] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 162.

Akbar conformed to the outward observances of the Sunni faith until 1575 when his association with Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons Faizi and Abul Fazl, who were mystics and eclectics like him, wrought a profound change on his mind and increased his yearning after truth.[168] This led him to construct in 1575 a new building at Fatehpur-Sikri, called the *Ibadat-Khana* (the House of Worship), for holding philosophical and theological discussions. Akbar at first called the learned *ulemas* to the *Ibadat-Khana* and listened to their debates with attention. The leaders of the orthodox party were Shaikh Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun-nabi, whereas Mubarak, Faizi, Abul Fazl and Raja Birbal represented the free-thinkers. The orthodox quarrelled among themselves and they levelled more violent attacks on the free-thinkers. But the discussions in the hall soon degenerated into 'vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks.' Badaoni writes: "The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battlefield of mutual contradiction and opposition and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the pale of Sunni and Shiah, of Hanafi and Shafi, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief."[169] The bitter differences between the two parties of the *ulema* and the failure of the Muslim doctors of the orthodox school to satisfy him by their answers to some of his questions convinced Akbar of their incapacity to comprehend the deepest truths of religion and the futility of their doctrines. He therefore invited the exponents of other religions to the *Ibadat-Khana* to know what these contained. Hence, as Abul Fazl remarks, the hall consisted of "Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jatis, Sinnas, Charbaks, Nazarenes, Jews, Sabians, Zoroastrians, and others."[170] Making allowance for some exaggeration in his statement, it may be said that Akbar consulted the exponents of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity.

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[167] *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 307.

[168] Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*, pp. 498—500.

[169] *Al-Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 262.

Among the exponents of Hinduism, Purshottam and Devi, were invited by Akbar. They impressed upon him the doctrine of metempsychosis and he now held that " there is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Among the Jain teachers, Hira Vijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri and Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya exerted considerable influence on Akbar. In 1582 he called to his court Hira Vijay Suri, who prevailed upon the emperor to release prisoners and caged birds and to prohibit the slaughter of animals on certain days. In 1593 another Jain teacher named Siddhachandra visited the emperor at Lahore and got several concessions for his faith, such as the abolition of the tax on pilgrims to the Satrunjaya hills and the control over the Jaina holy places. The Parsis or the followers of Zoroaster also took part in the religious debates. In 1578 Akbar invited to his court Dastur Meherjee Rana, the religious head of the Parsis at Navasari in Gujrat. His influence on the emperor was so great that the latter adopted many practices of the Zoroastrians, *e.g.*, sun-worship, fire-worship, etc. Akbar also felt a keen interest for the doctrines of Christianity and invited the Christian Fathers from Goa to his court. In 1580 came to his court a Jesuit mission consisting of Aquaviva and Monserrate with the Persian

[170] *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 366.

interpreter Enriquez. But the Christian Fathers were tactless enough to abuse Islam and the Prophet so much so that on one occasion the life of Father Rodolfo was in danger and could be saved only by Akbar's protection.

Thus we find that Akbar tried to satisfy his religious curiosity by coming in contact with the exponents of contemporary religions, and " he went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jain or a Christian."[171] But he was not definitely converted to any; and we do not find any reason for exaggerating the influence of Christianity, more than that of other faiths, on Akbar just as Dr. Smith has done by writing that " the contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce the Muslim religion."[172] The fact is that " his dissatisfaction with Islam prompted him to study other religions by means of discourses and debates, which eventually resulted in his eclecticism."[173]

Moreover, Akbar did not like the authority of the *ulemas* as a check to his absolute political supremacy over India. A Muslim state was to be governed in consonant with the Quranic injunctions, the interpretation of which remained with the *ulemas*. By reading the *Khutba* in the King's name, they gave the religious sanction to his authority, and as such, like the Popes in Medieval Europe, they " claimed a parallel claim to the obedience of the people." Essentially modern in spirit, Akbar wanted to free the state from the undue influence of the ecclesiastics, and " it would have been extremely galling to Akbar, a man of domineering nature as he was, that he could not command the indivisible allegiance of his subjects."[174] Thus, after he had manifested his genius as a conqueror and ruler, he accepted in right earnest Shaikh Mubarak's suggestion given in 1573 that he might be supreme authority over religion as well.

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[171] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 165.
[172] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[173] *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 323.

In his desire to establish spiritual headship Akbar proceeded step by step. In June 1579 he displaced the preacher at the chief Mosque in Fatehpur-Sikri and read the *Khutba* in his own name in order to emphasise his position as the supreme head of the church (Imam-i-Adil). Faizi prepared this *Khutba*, which ran as follows:

' In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm.
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity ;
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts
Exalted be His Majesty—' Allah-u-Akbar ' !

This innovation of Akbar caused a great consternation in the orthodox circles, but Akbar remained firm. In September 1579 a second blow was dealt against the power of the *ulemas*. A document was drawn up " with honest intentions for the glory of God and propagation of Islam " by which the leading *ulemas* and lawyers transferred into the hands of Akbar their authority in spiritual affairs. This ' Infallibility Decree ' made Akbar the supreme arbiter in all cases, spiritual and temporal, and thus it was laid down that " should in future a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a

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174 *Ibid.*, p. 324.

decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation: Provided always, that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Quran, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this."

This document produced a great heart-burning among the orthodox, who brought all kinds of charges against the emperor. But they misunderstood his policy and regarded his attempt to realise truth as a step towards forsaking Islam. Abul Fazl gives the real cause of resentment against the emperor's policy in the following sentences: "An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God-knowers with being of the Hindu (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness."[175] On the authority of Badaoni, an orthodox Sunni writer, and the Jesuits, Dr. Smith writes that "about this time Akbar, becoming alarmed at the widespread resentment aroused by his innovations, adopted a policy of calculated hypocricy."[176] But there are no definite facts to support this statement and it must be said that Akbar was by no means a pretender. As a modern writer remarks, "he did not mean to assume the spiritual leadership of the nation without having spiritual attainments. . . From start to the finish, from ascending the pulpit at Fatehpur-Sikri to the propagation of *Din-i-Ilahi*, Akbar was intensely sincere. His only fault was that he utilised his spiritual attainments for political purposes."[177]

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[175] *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 400.
[176] *Akbar*, p. 181.
[177] *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 325.

Akbar next sought to do away with the 'incongruity of spiritual and temporal supremacy resting in the same person' by founding a new religion, "compounded" as the Jesuit author Bartoli says, "out of various elements, taken partly from the Koran of Muhammad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmans and, to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose, from the Gospel of Christ." In order to do this he summoned a General Council of the Theologians and *Mansabdars*, where he said: "For an empire ruled by one head it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other . . . We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all'; with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any religion, while gaining whatever is better in another." Thus he wanted to found a new religion just as he had founded an empire and promulgated the *Din-i-Ilahi* or the Divine Faith, which was a brilliant combination of the fundamental principles of all religions, as he believed that all religions were but different paths leading to the same goal. As Abul Fazl states: "He is now the spiritual guide of the nation and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth."[178] In 1580 were prescribed the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty, and they consisted, as Badaoni writes, "in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor, Property, Life, Honour and Religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put down their names as faithful disciples of the Throne."

True to his principle of universal toleration Akbar did not seek to propagate his new religion in the spirit of a zealous missionary. He appealed to the inner consciences of men and did not try to force his faith on them. As mentioned in the *Ain* there were eighteen members of the *Din-i-Ilahi* at court among whom the most prominent were Abul Fazl, Faízi, Shaikh Mubarak, Mirza Jani of Thatta and Aziz Koka, Raja Birbal being the only Hindu in the list. A number of fantastic regulations, of which Badaoni has given a detailed account, were issued in 1582 against Islam. To examine the charge of attempting to destroy Islam brought against Akbar by the orthodox a reference to the more important of these regulations is necessary. These are:

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[178] *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 164.

> "The Era of the Thousand was stamped on the coins and a *Tarikh-i-Alfi* commencing with the death of the Prophet was to be written.
>
> *Sijdah* was to be offered to kings.
>
> Circumcision was forbidden before the age of twelve and was then left to the will of boys.
>
> Beef was prohibited and this was due to the 'Company of rascally Hindus.' His Hindu wives had created a prejudice in his mind against garlic and onions which were forbidden.
>
> The wearing of beards was discouraged.
>
> The wearing of gold and silk dresses forbidden by the *Shari'at* was made obligatory.
>
> The flesh of the wild boar and tiger was permitted and the emperor ordered swine and dogs[170] to be kept in the *harem* and under the fort and '*regarded the going to look at them every morning as a religious service.*'
>
> Public prayers and the *azan* (call to prayer) were abolished. Muslim names such as Ahmad, Muhammad and Mustafa became so offensive to His Majesty that he

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[170] Sacred to Rajputs and Parsis respectively.

got them changed to other names. The fast of Ramzan and pilgrimage to Mecca were prohibited. The study of Arabic was looked upon as a 'crime' and Muslim law, the Quran and the Hadis were all tabooed. Their place was taken by mathematics, astronomy, poetry, medicine, history and fiction which were assiduously cultivated.

Boys were not to be married before the age of sixteen and girls before fourteen, because the offspring of such marriages were bound to be weak and sickly.

Mosques and prayer rooms were changed into store-rooms and guard-rooms."

Badaoni is supported by the Jesuit writers alone, whose source of knowledge was the orthodox section. Moreover, it is doubtful if Badaoni's knowledge of the facts which he enumerates was definite or whether he ever attempted to determine the truth. His statements are all along coloured by narrow sectarian ideas and are full of attacks against the Hindus. So it would not be fair on the part of an impartial historian to hold, on the basis of the writing of Badaoni, that Akbar renounced Islam in his later years. With a mind illumined by reason and freed from the narrow prejudices of a fanatic, Akbar was not a foe of any religion. We do not find him ever denying the authority of the Quran, not even in the so-called Infallibility Decree.

Dr. Smith has denounced the *Din-i-Ilahi* as "the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy," and he writes in another place that "the Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom."[180] But a critical and impartial study of Akbar's character, policy and aims shows clearly the unsoundness of this view. The German historian of Akbar gives a fair estimate of his Divine

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[180] *Akbar*, p. 222.

Faith in the following concluding sentences of his work: "Badaoni certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great emperor. He, however, was never in intimate relation to the *Din-i-Ilahi*, he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace marred and alloyed by popular modes of perception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a god of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity—greatness and universal tolerance in matters of religious belief. If in every deed he had contemplated the deification of himself, a design certainly foreign to his character, these words of Voltaire would serve as his vindication: Cest le privilege du vrai genie et sturtout 'du genie qui ouvre une carriere, de faire impunement de groudes fantes.' "[181]

The political results of the *Din-i-Ilahi* were beneficial, as it facilitated the growth of unity within the empire. But as a cult it did not survive the death of Akbar. Akbar "wanted to found a new religion, just as he had founded an empire. He would piece together the brilliant bits of every religion, and make a new one out of them in the way he had conquered and annexed province after province of India, and built up one great empire. In his folly he forgot that religions are never made; their elements are not borrowed and pieced together. The great founders of religions, *i.e.*, the prophets never meant to found them. They, in their intense love of mankind, sought to impart it their own realizations, their own knowledge about the Truth, God and mysteries of life, and it was their followers who formed themselves into distinctive groups, and thus creeds came into being. Akbar was doing just the other way ; he began where religion ends. He planned and arranged the details of his Divine Faith after enunciating its basic principles."[182]

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[181] *Von Noer*, I, p. 348.

Jahangir's religious views "perplexed his contemporaries and posterity alike." Some regarded him as an atheist, or an eclectic, or a devout Muslim, while others thought that he was a Christian at heart. There were some others who looked upon him as a scoffer at all faiths like Voltaire. But all these are mere surmises and do not speak the truth about his religion.

Jahangir was not of course so rational as his father, nor did he possess a deep religious feeling, but he did not rest satisfied with mere dogma or superstition and sincerely belived in God and God's saints. "Intellectually he owed allegiance to Sufism or Vedantism on which he delighted to converse with Jadrup and other sages."[183] Still, with his pledge for maintaining Sunni orthodoxy, he did not refrain from punishing those who interfered with this, as for example, he once chastised certain Muslims on hearing that they had been influenced by a Sannyasi.

Though he gave up for a time the society of the Jesuit missionaries, his attitude towards Christianity was on the whole friendly and he allowed the Christian missionaries to preach freely in his empire. But he understood little of the reformed sects, and for the orthodox Hindu religion of his time he had no reverence but contempt. The image of Varaha, the Boar-Avatar of the Hindus, at Ajmer, was destroyed and thrown into the tank according to his orders. Again on seeing the temple of Jwalamukhi at Kangra in 1622 he remarked : "A world has here wandered in the desert of error." Thus in the reign of Jahangir there are exceptions[184] to his father's policy of religious toleration, though on the whole he tried to follow the maxim of *Sulh-i-Kul* (Peace into all).

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[182] *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 328.

[183] Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 442.

Shahjahan deliberately deviated from the policy of religious toleration. The contemporary Muslim chronicler speaks highly of his orthodoxy and describes him as *Shahanshah Din-i-Panah*. He ruthlessly persecuted the Christians for the misdeeds of the Portuguese and his attitude towards the Hindus and the Shias was not favourable. Under his orders seventy-six Hindu temples were demolished in the country of Benares, and his Sunni fanaticism made him eager to destroy the Deccan Sultanates, which professed the Shia faith. Thus beneath outward grandeur and glory of the empire during the reign of Shahjahan, the narrow policy of religious intolerance got a new start after about ninety years, and was continued in the next reign against the interests of the state.

Aurangzeb was a man of puritan temperament and he adopted various measures for enforcing " his own ideas of the morose seriousness of life and punctilious orthodoxy." He forbade the use of *Kalima* (Muhammadan confession of faith) on the coins to prevent the holy words from being trampled under foot or defiled by the non-Muslims. He abolished the Nauroz which the Mughal sovereigns of India had borrowed from the rulers of Persia. Censors of public morals (*muhtasibs*) were appointed to " regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the Holy Law."[185] The old mosques and *khanqahs*, which had been reduced to ruins, were repaired by his orders and " *Imams*, *Muazzins*, *Khatibs* and attendants were appointed in them with regular salaries, and students were granted daily allowances according to their progress in knowledge, that they might engage in the study of theology with composure of mind."[186] In the eleventh year of his reign he forbade music at court on the ground that he "had no liking for pleasure and no time for amusements" and the old musicians and singers were dismissed. But, though banned from the court, music could not be "banished from the human soul;" the regulation was enforced only in the important cities, and the nobles continued to enjoy music in secret. The ceremony of weighing the emperor on two birthdays was abolished; and the courtiers were ordered to give up the Hindu practice of saluting each other and were to repeat the formula 'Salam alekum' (Peace be on you) which could not be, however, used in the imperial presence. The astrologers were forbidden to prepare almanacs, but belief in astrology was too deeply rooted in Indian minds to be destroyed by one imperial legislation.[187] He simplified the customary rejoicings on the birthday and coronation day and abolished the *darshan* (the ceremony by which his predecessors appeared every morning at a balcony on the wall of the palace to receive the salute of the people assembled on the ground outside). Strict orders were passed against the use of spirituous liquor and *bhang*, and the women were forbidden to visit the shrines of holy men.

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[184] For other illustrations, *vide* Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 442, footnote.

[185] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 82.

In his private life Aurangzeb was not addicted to the common vices of his time and the Muslims revered him as a "Zinda Pir" or living saint. He issued certain regulations which were "intended to promote general morality without any special reference to Islam." As mentioned by Manucci, the dancing girls and public women were given the choice between marriage and banishment from the kingdom, but this regulation did not prove very effective. He did not like fashions or effeminacy in dress. Strict orders were passed against singing obscene songs or burning faggots during the holy festivals and the Muharram processions were also stopped. The official guide-books of the reign mention that Aurangzeb forbade *Sati* (December 1663), but "the evidence of contemporary European travellers in India shows that the royal prohibition was seldom observed."[188]

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[186] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 84.

[187] It remained firm in the minds of the Muslim Nawabs, grandees and people till late in the eighteenth century.

These regulations did not satisfy Aurangzeb, who secured the throne as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy. He regarded India as "land of the faithful" where the existence of 'idolatry' could not be tolerated, and in his eagerness to advance the cause of his religion he carried the policy of religious intolerance, which had begun definitely with Shahjahan, if not with Jahangir, to its extreme. Himself a zealous Sunni Muslim, his idea was to establish an Islamic theocracy for the benefit of the members of his faith, pushing other religions and communities, even the followers on the Shia faith, to the background. In pursuance of this policy he began a regular attack against Hinduism. He had given evidence of his intolerance during his viceroyalty of Gujrat (1664), when he desecrated the Chintamon temple in Allahabad by killing a cow in it and by turning it into a mosque, and destroyed many other newly constructed temples in the province. On 9th April, 1669, he issued a general order "to demolish all the schools and temples of the infidels and to put down their religious teachings and practices." Many shrines were demolished, including the famous temples of Somnath in Gujrat, Vishwanath in Benares and Keshava Rai in Mathura. In January 1670, he sent orders for destroying the temple of Keshava Rai in Mathura completely and for renaming the same city as Islamabad. For the proper enforcement of his regulations, officers were appointed in all the subdivisions and cities of the empire and so large was their number that a *darogha* (Director-General) had to be placed over them to supervise their work.

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[188] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 92.

Economic pressure was brought to bear on the Hindus, as they had to pay custom duties at the rate of 5 per cent while the Muslims had to pay 2½ per cent. In May 1667 the Muslims were wholly exempted from custom duties while no remission was made in the case of the Hindus. To encourage conversion the emperor granted rewards and offered posts in the public service to new converts. "Qanungoship on condition of turning Muslim" passed into a proverb, and, as Sir J. N. Sarkar writes, "several families in the Punjab still preserve his letters patent in which this condition of office is unblushingly laid down."[189] In 1671 he passed an ordinance that the rent-collectors of the crown-lands must be Muslims and that all viceroys and talukdars should dismiss their Hindu *peshkars* (head clerks) and *diwanians* (accountants). But as it became impossible to carry on the provincial administration without the help of the Hindu *peshkars*, the emperors, later on, allowed half the *peshkars* to be Hindus, while the other half were Muhammadans. According to his orders, some of the converts were placed on elephants and carried in procession through the city. In March 1695, all Hindus, with the exception of the Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *palkis*, elephants or horses, or to carry arms.[190] In 1668 Aurangzeb stopped all Hindu fairs throughout his dominions and ordered that Hindu festivals of *diwali* and *holi* could be celebrated only outside bazars and under some restrictions.

In 1679 he reimposed *jaziya* on 'unbelievers' in different parts of the empire "to spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity." A number of Muslim collectors and

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[189] *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 277.

[190] *Ibid.*, p. 378.

amins were scattered throughout the empire for realising the tax, and so large was their number that in 1687 an Inspector-General of *jaziya* was appointed to tour through the four provinces of the Deccan in order to inspect their work. This tax gave a very large sum to the state, and Sir J. N. Sarkar has estimated that ' the *jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's direct contribution to the state." " One day when he (Aurangzeb) went to public prayer in the great mosque on the Sabbath a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of seeking relief." In spite of repeated orders the crowd went on increasing and blocked the emperor's path. "At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob. Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses."

All these reactionary measures caused great hardships to the Hindus.[191] The empire itself became exposed to grave perils. It was immediately threatened by the uprisings of the Jats, the Satnamis, the Sikhs and the Rajputs, which along with the Deccan troubles, distracted Aurangzeb's energies during the remainder of his life till it ended in a tragedy. He was conscientious as a follower of Islam, but a complete failure as a ruler. The empire which had been built up by Akbar's wise and conciliatory policy foundered on the rock of Aurangzeb's orthodoxy and the latter left for his successors the unpleasant task of struggling unsuccessfully to preserve a kingdom, exposed to various disintegrating forces before which it ultimately succumbed.

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[191] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, pp. 485-86.

SECTION IV

LITERATURE AND ART IN MUGHAL INDIA

In Mughal India there was no department of education organised and maintained by the state. Education depended upon private initiative and arrangements. The emperors as well as many of the grandees encouraged education by grants of lands or money to mosques, monasteries and individual saints and scholars. "This, however, was recognised as a religious and not a political duty, nor were the recipients of these favour bound to maintain schools with the money."[192] But in practice there was a *maktab* attached to almost every mosque, where the boys and girls of the neighourhood received elementary education from the *Mullah*.

Some of the Muslim rulers of the earlier period did much towards the diffusion of education throughout the country. Thus Sultan Qutb Shah of Golkonda encouraged education by the foundation of colleges and public seminaries and by his patronage of learned men. Mahmud Gawan's richly endowed college at Bidar is a famous example of patronage of education in the Bahmani Kingdom. Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal was a great patron of learning. He founded a college as a memorial to the famous saint Qutbul Alam.[193] Jaunpur was an important seat of learning. Adil Shah of Bijapur was a good scholar and invited learned men to his court from Persia, Turkistan and Rum.[194] Such instances may easily be multiplied.

The Timurid rulers of India from 1526—1707 were all patrons of literature, and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made important contributions towards its many-sided development. Babar was himself a man of fine literary accomplishments and was a well-versed and critical scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turki. He was the author of several Turki poems, of a work on prosody and a few other smaller books. His *Memoirs*[195] written in Turki, though these contain some historical inaccuracies, possess high literary grace and quality. The Public Works Department (*Shuhrat-i-Am*) of Babar's time, "which continued through the reigns of the succeeding Mughal emperors, was entrusted, among other duties, with that of conducting postal service, the publication of a Gazette and the building of schools and colleges."[196] Humayun had a taste for the study of books, for discussing literary subjects with learned men and for composing verses. He loved to read astronomy and geography, and was so fond of books that he always 'carried a select library' with him and it was on his library steps that he met with his fatal accident. Jauhar, the famous author of *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* (Private Memoirs of Humayun), was his servant. Humayun built a *madrasah* at Delhi and transformed the pleasure-house built by Sher Shah in the Purana Qilah into a library.[197]

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[192] Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 299.

[193] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 113.

[194] Law, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, p. 92.

"Akbar's reign marks a new epoch for the system introduced for imparting education in schools and colleges."[198] He made some changes in the methods of study in the curriculum, etc., the good results of which made Abul Fazl declare that "all civilised nations have schools for the education of youths; but Hindusthan is particularly famous for its seminaries."[199] He also established some new educational institutions.

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[195] Humayun transcribed these with his own hands and the Khan-i-Khanan translated these accurately into Persian under the orders of Akbar. They were first rendered into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826, and into French in 1871. Mrs. Beveridge has brought out a revised edition.

[196] Law, *Promotion of Learning etc.*, p. 127.

[197] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

[198] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

A number of scholars flourished and produced literary works of interest and importance under Akbar's patronage. He encouraged the learned by granting rewards and stipends. Madhavacharya, a Bengali poet of Triveni, contemporary with Akbar, speaks of him in his *Chandi-Mangal* in terms of regard as a patron of letters.[200] The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* has noted the names of ninety-five learned men and poets who received encouragement from the emperor.[201]

The Persian literature of Akbar's reign may be classified under (1) histories, (2) translations, (3) letters and verse. The important historical works of the reign are the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mulla Daud, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badaoni, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, the *Akbarnamah* of Faizi Sarhindi, and the *Nasir-i-Rahimi* prepared under the patronage of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. Abul Fazl was the most accomplished and famous of all those writers.

Many books in Sanskrit and other languages were translated into Persian or Hindi. Different sections of the *Mahabharata* were translated into Persian by Naqib Khan, Mulla Sheri and Sultan Haji Thaneswari and Abdul Qadir Badaoni and the translation was called *Razm-Namah*. Abdul Qadir Badaoni completed the translation of the *Ramayana* in 1589 A.D. after a labour of four years. The *Atharvaveda* was translated into Persian by Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi, the *Lilavati*, a work on Mathematics, by Faizi, the *Tajok*, a treatise on astronomy, by Mukammal Khan Gujrati, the *Waqiat-i-Babar* in Turkish by Rahim the Khan-i-Khanan. and the *History of Kashmir* in Sanskrit by Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahbadi.[202] Certain Greek and Arabic works were also translated.

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[199] Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 278-79.

[200] D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 336.

[201] Law, *Promotion of Learning*, etc., pp. 168-69. *Vide* also Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 537 ff.

There were many poets or versifiers in Akbar's court. Abul Fazl writes: "Thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *diwan* or have written a *masnawi*." Dr. Smith does not believe in the presence of any excellence in the works of many of them and writes that "many of the persons who claimed the honourable name of poet had no better claim to that title than the composer of acrostics for a magazine has."[203] But there were some, the merit of whose works cannot be ignored. In the domain of verse, Ghizali, who was a native of Persia and secured imperial patronage in India after various vicissitudes of fortune in his native land, in the Deccan and at Jaunpur, occupied the first place. He remained as Akbar's Poet-Laureate till 1572, and his famous works are the *Mirat-hl-Kainat, Naqsh-i-Badid,* and *Israr-i-Maktub*. Another great scholar and writer was Faizi, son of Shaikh Mubarak and brother of Abul Fazl. He was also the emperor's Poet-Laureate for some time. He was an erudite scholar of Arabic literature, possessed a fine art of writing poetry and was besides well acquainted with the science of medicine. His famous works are *Masnawi Nal-o-Daman, Markaz-i-Adwar, Mawarid-ul-Kalam,* and *Sawati-ul-Ilham,* which is an Arabic commentary on the Quran. Other famous poets were Muhammad Husain Naziri of Nishapur, who wrote *ghazals* of exceptional merit, and Sayyid Jamaluddin Urfi of Shiraz, who was the best writer of *Qasidas* in his time.

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[202] Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 147—50.

[203] *Akbar*, p. 416.

Jahangir, though inferior to his father, was also possessed of some literary taste. He was educated by tutors like Maulana Mir Kalan Muhaddis and Abdul-Rahim Mirza. He knew Persian as well as Turki, which enabled him to read the *Memoirs of Babar* in the original. He promulgated a regulation in his dominions that " whenever a well-to-do man or a rich traveller died without any heir, his property would escheat to the Crown and be utilized for building and repairing *madrasahs*, monasteries, etc."[204] It is noted in the *Tarikh-i-Jan-Jahan* that after his accession to the throne, Jahangir " repaired even those madrasahs that had for thirty years been the dwelling places of birds and beasts, and filled them with students and professors."[205] Among the learned men of his court, of which the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* has given a comprehensive list, may be mentioned here Ghiyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutamad Khan, Niamatullah and Abdul Haqq Dihlawi. The *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and the *Zubd-ut-Tawarikh* and several other historical works were compiled during Jahangir's reign.

Shahjahan, though his name is better known for his magnificence, followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in educational activities. In his early youth he was educated in Turki, in which language he spoke and wrote fluently. He spent some time at night for his own studies[206] and encouraged learned men by rewards and stipends.[207] He founded an Imperial College at Delhi near the famous *Jami Masjid* and repaired the college named *Dar-ul-Baqa* (Abode of Eternity) which had been almost ruined.[208] Among the learned men of his time were Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of the *Padshahnamah,* Amin Qazwini, author of another *Padshahnamah,* Inayat Khan, author of the *Shahjahannamah*, and Muhammad Salih, author of the *Amal Salih*, all of whom supply us with numerous facts about the history of Shahjahan's reign. Prince Dara was a good scholar, well versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and deeply interested in philosophical and religious studies. Like Akbar he was imbued with the liberal doctrines of Sufism and tried to unite the discordant religious elements within the state. Under his inspiration, the *Upanishads,* the *Bhagawat Gita,* and the *Yoga Vasistha Ramayana* were translated into Persian, and he was the author of a number of works, the chief of which are *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, a biography of the saints of Islam, the *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, an account of the Indian saint Mian Mir, and his disciples, the *Majma-ul-Bahrain,* " a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu Pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology," and some works on Sufism named the *Nadir-ul-Nukat*, the *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* and the *Risalah-i-Haqnamah*.[209]

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[204] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[205] Quoted in *ibid.*

[206] Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*, p. 174.

[207] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[208] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Being an orthodox Sunni, Aurangzeb destroyed Hindu schools and temples, but he encouraged the education of Muhammadan youths in various ways. Mr. Keene writes that he " founded numberless colleges and schools."[210] He caused the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri,* a digest of Islamic laws, by eminent jurists of his kingdom under the supervision of Mulla Nizam. Though he was opposed to the writing of histories of his reign and the important historical work *Muntakhab-ul-Lubub* of Khafi Khan was written secretly, yet we have got a few other histories of his reign, such as the *Alamgirnamah*, the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Khattri, the *Nushka-i-Dilkhusa* of Bhimsen and the *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwar Das.

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[209] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[210] *Mughal Empire*, p. 23.

Female education was not unknown to the age. In Akbar's time "regular training was given to the ladies of the royal household."[211] Gulbadan Begum, a daughter of Babar, was a learned lady and wrote the *Humayunnamah,* which is a source book for the history of Humayun's reign. Salima Sultana (Salima Begum), daughter of Humayun's other sister Gulrukh, Maham Anaga, Nurjahan, Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara Begum and Zeb-un-Nisa, were all educated ladies, deeply interested in art and literature.[212] Most of the lady tutors in Muslim princely and aristocratic families came from Persia[213] and this partly explains the growth of Persian influence in court-circles. Court ladies of these times are known to have maintained correspondence with scholars and theologians of note. But the masses of the Muslim womenfolk (even amongst middle classes) did not share in such liberal education.

This period was also marked by a brilliant outburst of vernacular literature. As we have already noted, this was intimately connected with the religious reformation movements that had begun some time ago and were characterised by a grand catholicity of sentiment and the teachers of which had to write in a tongue 'understanded of the people.'[214] Kabir did much towards the growth of Hindi poetry; his *dohas* and *sakhis,* permeated with a deep religious fervour, are brilliant productions of Hindi Literature. After 1526 the first important writer was Malik Muhammad Jayasi (1540 A.D.), who wrote 'the fine philosophic epic entitled the *Padmawat,* which gives the story of Padmini, the Queen of Mewar, in an allegoric setting.'

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[211] Law, *op. cit.,* p. 202.

[212] Reference may be made to Mr. B. N. Banerjee's '*Mughal Yuge Strīśikṣhā.*'

[213] *E.g.,* Sati-un-nisa, tutor of Jahanara.

[214] *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan,* by George A. Grierson, p. xix.

"With Malik Muhammad the period of the apprenticeship of vernacular literature in Hindusthan may be said to have come to a close" and "the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries form the Augustan age of Hindustani vernacular literature."[215] The glories and peace, which Akbar had secured for the country, exercised a stimulating influence on the minds of the people and, as in contemporary England, genius unfolded itself in various braches. Moreever, his interest in Hindi poetry and patronage of poets and singers also gave a great impetus to the cause of Hindi Literature. Some of his courtiers like Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh and Birbal were poets of no mean reputation. Birbal received the title of Kavi Ray from the emperor, but the most famous Hindi poet among his courtiers was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, whose *dohas* are read with interest and pleasure even now. Karan, Harinath, Ganj and Narahari were also important poets ; the last of them received from the emperor the title of Mahapatra.

The bulk of the poetical literature of the time had a religious tone formed either by the Krishna cult or the Rama cult. It was in Brajbhumi (roughly the Jamuna Valley), where the Krishna cult had taken the strongest root, that many poets of the former school flourished in the sixteenth century. Of the eight disciples of Vallabhacharya and his son Bitthal Nath, grouped under the name of Ashtachhap, Krishnadas and Surdas were the most famous ones. Surdas, 'the blind bard of Agra,' has described in his *Sursagar* the sports of Krishna in his early life, and he composed numerous verses on the beauty and love of Radha and Krishna. Nand Das, author of the *Ras-panchadhyayi*, Vitthal Nath, author of the *Chaurasi Vaishnava ki varta* in prose, Paramananda Das, Khumbhan Das and Ras Khan, a Muslim disciple of Vitthal Nath and author of *Premavartika* (1614 A.D.), were the other important poets of this school.

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[215] Compare the Age of Elizabeth in England.

Tulsidas, living in Benares "unapproachable and alone in his niche in the temple of Fame," was the greatest of the northern poets, who popularised the cult of Rama. Besides his high qualities as a poet, he was one of the most influential spiritual teachers of the people of Hindusthan. The most famous of his works, known as *Ramacharitamanasa* or 'The Pool of Rama's Life,' which has been describel by Sir George Grierson as 'the one Bible of a hundred millions of people' of Hindusthan, was not simply a brilliant specimen of Hindi Literature, but it was also in fact a code of ethics inculcating on his countrymen the virtues of love, obedience and affection. Tulsidas' memory is worshipped by millions in Northern India. Mr. Growse has rightly remarked in his translation of the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas that "the book is in everyone's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read and heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old."[216] Sir George Grierson writes of Tulsidas: "One of the greatest reformers and one of the greatest poets that India has produced he disdained to found a church, and contented himself with telling his fellow-countrymen how to work out each his own salvation amongst his own kith and kin."[217] Another writer of importance was Nabhaji, the author of *Bhaktamala*, which speaks of the lives of the principal devotees and saints both of the Rama and Krishna cults.

"This Augustan Age was not only a period of the erotic poetry of Surdas and of the nature poetry of Tulsi, but was also signalised by the first attempts to systematize the art of poetry itself."[218] The most famous of these writers was Kesava Das (1580 A.D.), a Sanadhya Brahman of Orcha, who laid down the rules of poetic criticism, which are read with interest even now. His important works are *Kavi Priya*, a treatise on the art of writing poetry, *Rama Chandrika* a story of the life of Rama, *Rasik Priya*, treating of poetical composition, *Alankrit Manjari*, a work on prosody. Some writers of Hindi poetry like Sundar, Senapati, and the Tripathi brothers flourished during the reign of Shahjahan.

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[216] Quoted in Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan*, p. xx.

[217] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 418.

During this period Bengal also witnessed a luxuriant growth of literary activities in various phases. The Vaishnav Literature of Bengal in its different branches such as the *kadchas* or notes, the biographical sketches of Chaitanya Dev and the *padas*, songs, preached love and liberalism to the people of Bengal and has preserved for us valuable materials for studying the history of Bengali Society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Govindadas wrote his *kadchas* or notes of Sri Chaitanya's doings during the early part of the sixteenth century ; Krishnadas Kaviraj, born in 1517 A.D. of a poor Vaidya family of Jhamalpur in Burdwan, wrote his *Chaitanyacharitamrita* which is the most important of the biographies of Chaitanya Deva ; Brindavan Das, born in 1507 A.D., wrote his *Chaitanya Bhagvata* which is a standard work on the life of Sri Chaitanya and is full of valuable information regarding contemporary Bengali Society ; Jayananda, born in 1513 A.D., wrote his *Chaitanya Mangal*, which gives some new facts about Chaitanya's life ; Trilochan Das, born in 1523 at Kogram, a village thirty miles to the north of Burdwan, wrote another *Chaitanya Mangal*, a biography of Chaitanya Dev, which enjoys great popularity ; and Narahari Chakravarty wrote his *Bhaktiratnakar* which is a voluminous biography of Chaitanya Dev divided into fifteen chapters and is next in importance to the work of Krishnadas Kaviraj. There were numerous other works dealing with the incidents of Chaitanya Dev's life and of the lives of the Vaishnava devotees like Nityananda (born in 1473 A.D.), Advait Acharya (1434—1557 A.D.) and others. Besides these, various translations of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagvata, the Chandi, and works in honour of the Chandi Devi and the Manasa Devi were produced during this period. The most important of these works were the *Kavikankan Chandi* of Mukundaram Chakravarty and the *Mahabharata* of Kasi Ram Das, which are even now as popular in Bengal as the work of Tulsidas in Upper India.[219] "Mukundarama was not given to idealism; he depicted what he saw with his own eyes. One who reads his poems closely will find the Bengali home of the sixteenth century mirrored in his pages. They are full of realistic interest. It is for the reality of his description that Prof. Cowell calls him the Crabbe of Bengal and Dr. Grierson speaks of his poetry 'as coming from the heart and not from the school, and as full of passages adorned with true poetry and descriptive power.' "[220]

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[218] Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature*, etc., p. xx.

Valuable and important books were carefully collected. Babar and Humayun were fond of books and Akbar 'collected an enormous library of extraordinary pecuniary value.'[221] It was full of beautiful manuscript works, as Akbar did not care for books printed by the Jesuits in presses at Goa and Rachol and also presented to him by some of them. The library was properly managed and books were classed under sciences and arts.[222] After Faizi's death 4,300 manuscripts were transferred from his library to the imperial library, where they were catalogued in three sections. The first section contained works on poetry, medicine, astrology and music ; the second philology, philosophy, Sufism, astronomy and geometry ; and the third commentaries, traditions, theology and law.[223]

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[219] We know from our personal experience that in many villages of Bengal people read with deep reverence the *Kavikankan Chandi* of Mukundaram in the time of bad rains, and instances of old village-folk spending their time after mid-day meals over the study of the *Mahabharata* of Kasi Ram Das and the *Ramayana* of Krittivas (which belongs to an earlier date and which has been rightly described by Dr. D. C. Sen as the Bible of the people of the Gangetic Valley') are not rare.

[220] D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 336.

[221] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 424.

Elegant penmanship or the art of calligraphy was greatly encouraged.[224] The *Ain-i-Akbari* has preserved a list of the famous penmen in Akbar's Court. The most renowned writer of *nastaliq* in Akbar's court was Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, who received the title of *Zarrinqalam* (' Gold-pen ').

In spite of disorder and confusion following the death of Aurangzeb, the later Mughal period cannot be regarded as entirely barren in the history of education. Bahadur Shah was well educated and loved the society of learned men. Two colleges were established during his reign at Delhi, one being founded by Ghaziuddin and the other by Khan Firuz Jang.[225] In the time of Muhammad Shah a great impetus was given to scientific education, especially astronomy, by Jai Singh, Raja of Amber, who founded observatories not only in Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura and Benares, but also in Delhi.[226] In 1722 Nawab Saraf-ud-doulah of Oudh built a *madrasah* and a mosque close to each other.[227] After Nadir Shah had carried away with him the books of the Imperial Library at Delhi, the imperial family continued to collect new ones, which formed a good library in the time of Shah Alam II.[228] Husain Reza Khan, the minister of Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh, established a madrasah at Farrukhabad during the reign of Shah Alam.[229]

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[222] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 151..

[223] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[224] Old specimens of calligraphy are preserved in many of the private families at Patna. Some of these were exhibited by us before the Indian Historical Records Commission, Thirteenth Session at Patna, December, 1930.

[225] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 194..

[226] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

[227] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

In Bengal, we find that Nawab Murshid Quli "possessed very extensive learning and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition; he wrote with great elegance and was a remarkably fine penman."[230] The author of the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*[231] has noted his zeal for transcribing the Quran and sending transcribed copies of it to various places outside India. Nawab Alivardi greatly encouraged learning by inviting to his court number of learned men, whose names have been mentioned by the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, from different quarters.[232] The same author notes some instances about Mir Casim's patronage of learning.[233]

Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia was a great patron of art and letters, and his court was adorned by a number of scholars. In order to encourage the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, he fixed a monthly allowance of Rs. 200 to be paid as stipends to students who should come from distant places to study in the *tols* of Nadia. It was under his patronage that Bharatchandra wrote his *Anandamangala*, and Ramaprasada Sena wrote his *Kalikirtana* under the encouragement of Rajakishora Mukhopadhyaya, a relative of Raja Krishnachandra. But there was no organised system of public higher education; it depended entirely upon private initiative and private arrangements. One Dvija Bhavani compiled his *Ramayana* in the court of a *zamindar* named Jayachandra, living near about Noakhali (East

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[228] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[229] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[230] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 408.

[231] P. 279 (English translation) by R. A. S. B.

[232] Vol. II, pp. 165—85. (English translation).

[233] *Ibid.*, pp. 432—34.

Bengal), with a remuneration at the rate of Rs. 10 per day.[234] We find in the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*,[235] that " Asadullah, *zamindar* of Birbhum, was a pious and saintly person and had bestowed half of his property as *Madad-i-mash* grants on learned, pious and saintly persons." In Maharashtra also there was no department of public instruction, but " learning was indirectly encouraged by *Dakshina* grants to scholars."[236] The Peshwas maintained libraries of their own and tried to procure old manuscripts or copies of these.[237]

Education of women was not unknown. The two daughters of Jan Muhammad (a converted Hindu), father of the well-known Koki Jiu, were " sent to school and all obtained some proficiency in letters."[238] Koki Jiu ' excelled her brothers in handwriting and composition.' In Bengal we notice several instances of educated women. The wives of Raja Navakrishna were widely known for being able to read; Anandamay, the niece of the poet Jaynarayan, was herself a poetess of fair repute.[239] The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* has remarked that Muhammadi Beg, the murderer of Siraj-ud-daulah, " had made his fortune by marrying an orphan virgin, in whose education that unfortunate grandmother (*i.e.*, Begam of Alivardi) had taken pleasure."[240]

Art and architecture in mediæval and early modern India can hardly be classified as " Pathan " or " Mughal," or characterised profitably as " Indo-Moslem." There was no such thing as a new Pathan architecture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the Lodis and the Surs were not strikingly original or mighty and prolific builders ; only Sikandar revived Agra (Sikandra), and Sher has certain structures to his credit at Sahsaram and elsewhere. The rest of the so-called 'Indo-Moslem' architecture cannot be placed in any single class—for distinct styles developed in different localities and times. This was due on the one hand to the existence of a number of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina styles in the country, while Islam was advancing in successive stages into the country from about the middle of the seventh to that of the fourteenth century—and on the other to the fact that there was never a single Islamic style of architecture, distinct styles developing by the Islamization of pre-existing Asiatic, African and European art (as in Damascus or Samarqand, Egypt and Constantinople), each in itself combining several threads of earlier art tradition. Thus what we should understand by 'Indo-Moslem' art is just this that the carriers of Islam—Arabs, Persians, Turks or Mongols—brought the art of various parts of Western and Central Asia, Northern Africa and South-Eastern and South-Western Europe into touch with the many indigenous systems of art in the different parts of India, and thereby led to the growth of fresh 'Indian' styles, like the Jaunpuri, the Bijapuri, the Gujrati, etc. What we usually call Mughal art and architecture is nothing else but the continued growth of these fresh Indian styles in a somewhat modified setting. Just as the developments in religion and literature in the early Mughal period cannot be characterised as Mughal, but are the continuations of the Renaissance and Reformation that marked the coming of the modern age in India, so also are the fine arts and architecture of the same period a sequel to that great general awakening of culture. The music that the Mughal court began to patronise was the renaissant Vaishnava music ; the talents and traditions utilised by the Mughal court connoisseurs of painting were those of Rajputana and the Himalayan States ; and the civil architecture of the Rajput capitals, the stately domes and *minars* of the Deccan States, and the " frozen lace " of Gujrat, served as models and inspirations for the edifices of the adjoining new northern empire.

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[234] K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, Chapter I.

[235] P. 257 (English translation by R. A. S. B.).

[236] Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 471.

[237] *Ibid.*, p. 472.

[238] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 264.

[239] K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, Chapter I.

[240] Vol. II, p. 242.

To understand the so-called ' Mughal ' art and architecture, therefore, it is necessary to see what was already growing in the country before the Chagtai dominion in India became well established in its course of development (about 1565).

Between 1400 and 1476, during the reigns of Ibrahim, Mahmud and Husain Sharqi, a new Hindu-Moslem architecture grew up in Oudh (Jaunpur), whose chief feature of massive sloping walls, as in the case of many Tughlaq buildings of the previous century, was a Hindu one, as was also the feature of square pillars—though in the time of Ibrahim there was a general persecution of Hindus ; in fact, much of the new constructions was re-building the destroyed Hindu temples for a new purpose.

The sites of some of the ancient Hindu cities of Bengal were re-peopled during the early Muhammadan rule ; thus the extensive ruins of Gaur and Pandua supplied materials for later edifices of a mixed Hindu-Moslem type : Sikandar built the huge Adina mosque of 400 domes at Pandua in 1368 ; Husain Shah's Lesser Golden Mosque and his tomb were built between 1493 and 1518, and the Great Golden Mosque and the Kadam Rasul mosque of Nusrat Shah between 1518 and 1532 ; the peculiarity of the ' Gaur ' style (widespread in Bengal cities of those days) consisted in the main use of bricks, the subsidiary use of stone, the use of pointed arches on short pillars, and the Moslem adaptation of the traditional Hindu temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from bamboo structures, and of beautifully carved Hindu symbolic decorative designs, like the Lotus. Apart from Muslim adaptations, the mediæval Hindu architectural styles of North and East India, known to art critics as the Nāgara styles, were continued unalloyed even in much later times ; the Visvesvara temple at Benares, the funeral chapels at Gwalior, the Jugalkishore and the Madanmohan at Brindaban, the religious buildings, ghats and temples of Ahalya Bai in various towns of Northern India are examples of such continuity of art tradition down to the close of the eighteenth century.

In Orissa, which became an expanding imperial power under Kapilendra's dynasty (c. 1450—c. 1560), the earlier mediæval art represented by the buildings of the Eastern Gangās (*e.g.*, at Jagannath and Konarak) was continued, as is shown in the Sakshigopal temple near Puri, and the ' bhoga-mandapa ' an addition to the Jagannath temple under Purushottama. On the whole, it may be said that the Orissa art of these days degenerated into coarse vulgarity, while other contemporary art movements were producing things of beauty and refinement—just as in the sphere of religious movements side by side with reformations of sterling merit we also find the growth of some degenerate Vaishnava sects with immoral practices.[241]

In Malwa, Hushang Shah Ghori, 1405—'32, removed the seat of his government from the Hindu capital Dhārā (vatī) to Mandu, where a magnificent architecture grew up derived from the older examples. There Mahmud Khalji set up his seven-storied Tower of Victory to rival Rana Kumbha's at Chitor, 1436—69. The fortified city of Mandu, on hills overlooking the Narmada, had walls about twenty-five miles long and massive buildings of great architectural merit, amongst whom may be noted a splendid Jami Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaj Mahal, Hoshang's tomb, and Baz Bahadur and Rupmati's palaces (1531); many of these buildings were of sandstone and marble (like the later 'Mughal' ones), and a number of them were subsequently repaired and used by the admiring Jahangir in 1617.

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[241] In fact, the rapid deterioration of the Chaitanya movement in Orissa helped the Orissan artistic decline considerably. This vulgarity was partly inherited and continued from the latest forms of Tantrikism.

In Gujrat also the new capital Ahmadabad was built in 1411—41 close to the old Hindu city of Asawal out of the ruins of its destroyed temples and buildings. The incomparable beauty and splendour of this great new city (with a population of about nine lakhs) consisted in the use of very fine wood-carving in the buildings and also of delicate stone lattices and ornaments, best described as "frozen lace," and surpassing what Agra produced later on; these special features, and the designs thereof, were mainly Moslem adaptations from the older Hindu and Jaina art with very little change; the features and the craftsmen were the same, only the figure work was omitted owing to Muslim requirements. The mediæval architectural styles of Gujrat, South Rajputana and N.-W. Deccan, which are classified traditionally as the Vesara styles, were continued in the Kīrti-stambhas of our period, as in the Tower of Kumbha (1440—48), in the succession of Jaina temples of Girnar and Satrunjaya (thirteenth to nineteenth centuries), and in the Ahmedabad style. In fact, in the Gujrat and Kathiawar area the Hindu-Jaina forms and the derivative Moslem forms survived side by side, and the former have by no means yet died out.

In the Farukhi principality of Khandesh, while the rock-fort architecture (as illustrated in that wonder of the age, the fortress of Asirgarh) was of the same type as that further south in the Bahmani Kingdom, the mosque architecture (as shown in Ali Khan's Mosque at the capital Burhanpur, 1588) showed the influence of the Gujrat style in its fine stone-carvings in perfect taste.

Rajput civil architecture from the fifteenth century to the present day is a continuous growth of extraordinary grandeur and beauty, in which is to be seen the original type, of which the Mughal buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were imitations and Moslem adaptations. Thus the Fatehpur-Sikri buildings are almost purely Hindu and Rajput in character, adapted to Moslem requirements,—which is only to be expected, since from 1561 to 1611 the Mughal Empire was mainly under Rajput influence, just as it was under Persian and other West Asiatic influences predominantly from the middle of the seventeenth century, while in the intervening period Rajput and Persian influences were blended or contending. The Mughal palaces of the seventeenth century are better known to tourists and writers, and are more intricately and lavishly ornamented (owing to greater expenditure), but their Rajput prototypes are of greater monumental dignity.

Amongst early Rajput examples are the Chitor and Gwalior palaces, the latter begun in the fifteenth century and completed in the seventeenth. The Jodhpur fort-palace with huge bastions was planned in the fifteenth century and added to for two centuries more. The Bikaner fort and palace examples are even earlier than the fifteenth century. The Udaipur buildings and island-palaces, 1600—1740, are unique even amongst the striking Rajput styles. The Amber palaces and Ajmer lake-pavilions, of the seventeenth century, show the Rajput art touched with the Mughal Court fashions. The somewhat later buildings of Jaipur, of the Benares Ghāts, of the Maheshwar and Ujjaini Ghāts, of Bulandshahr, Mathura, etc., as well as the more modern Rajput royal mausoleums—even Rajput railway stations like that of Alwar—are all continuations of the same architecture begun in early fifteenth century with the Hindu political and religious revival in Rajputana in the same century.

A distinct and remarkable school of stone architecture developed in Vijayanagar, with all possible embellishments from the sister arts of sculpture and painting. Though hardly anything of the paintings has survived,[242] enough remains of monuments and sculptures in ruins to enable us to form critical estimates. A full comparative study of Vijayanagar art has not yet been made, but it is likely to prove very instructive as showing the origins of many features in the succeeding art of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This much, however, is clear that Vijayanagar (1336—1565) represents the revived mediæval civilization of the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra (sacked in 1327) and the Kakatiyas of Warangal (sacked in 1323 and conquered finally in 1423), and a reaction against the Muslim occupation and devastation of the Peninsula. Hence naturally we find a comparatively unmixed Hindu art in this region on traditional lines continued from the middle ages. Thus at Belur, Abdur Razzak (1443) saw one of the chief Vijayanagar temples too wonderful for description, which appears to be the same as the Hoysala King Bittiga's original work of 1117 with some later adaptations (still standing).

At the same time, among mediæval Hindu states Vijayanagar was first and for long in contact with the Portuguese (and Spaniards and Italians) and the outer world, Eastern and Western ; Africa, Arabia, Iran and Central Asia were within the range of her Western trade through Calicut, Goa and other ports ; while her Eastern trade and spheres of influence brought Ceylon, the East Indies, Indo-China and China itself close to her. Thus Buddhagupta, a Buddhist missionary of Vijayanagar, travelled in the latter half of the sixteenth century from the East and South coasts and islands of Africa to the East Indies on trading ships ; about the middle of the fifteenth century Taimur's son, Shah Rukh of Samarqand, sent an embassy to the Samuri (Zamorin) of Calicut and to his suzerain the Vijayanagar Emperor, for arranging favourable trade relations ; and Bukka in 1374 sent a similar embassy to China, to the King Emperor Tai-tsun ; at the same time through wars and peace and royal marriages the Muslim states of the northern Peninsula affected Vijayanagar so far that Muslim mosques were constructed there by Vijayanagar architects in the time of Firuz and Alauddin II Bahmani (1397—1457), while the Kulbarga mosque of Firuz (1397—1422), the only large mosque in India completely roofed, apparently owed this peculiarity to the example of the capacious temples of Vijayanagar where Firuz had married in 1406. From such manifold and prolonged outside relations, therefore, a certain measure of external influences might be expected to have worked on Vijayanagar art ; but no detailed and critical studies have yet been made as to the extent of European, Persian or Chinese elements in the once flourishing Vijayanagar school of painting or as to the Persian or Central-Asiatic influence upon Vijayanagar palace-gardens with laid-out water-courses flowing through channels of cut and polished stone[243] or as to the influence of the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese art on the molten brass temples, carved ivory palace-chambers with floral designs on ivory pillars and beams,[244] painted large-sized stone-carved figures of lions and other ferocious animals lining some of the streets,[245] or the epic scenes on bas-relief on the walls of temples and palaces.[246] It can, however, be easily realised that Vijayanagar art was a great living stream, deriving its main current from mediæval South-Indian tradition and its tributaries from many directions and distant regions, with its fertilizing overflow reaching other parts of contemporary India, and a shrunken bed still with a flow in the art of Madura, where, upon the overthrow of the last Vijayanagar Empire after Shah Jahan's time the Nayaks of Madura became important and Tirumala raised the structures noted for dignity and splendour of plan and execution. The mediæval Drāviḍa group of styles continued not only in the Vijayanagar, Tāḍpatri, and other varieties down to the latter part of the sixteenth century, but also in the buildings of Madura from the seventeenth century onward even to the present day, and in the revived Kandy style of the eighteenth century featuring the use of both stone and timber.

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[242] Contemporary Portuguese and Timuride (Persian-Mughal) descriptions show their high level of skill.

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[243] As seen by Abdur Razzak in 1443.

[244] As seen by Paes in 1522.

[245] As seen by Abdur Razzak in 1443.

[246] *E.g.*, in Krishna Deva Raya's royal chapel the Rama Svami temple, 1513.

Throughout Indian-Oceanic regions (from South Africa to Polynesia) Indian architecture, sculpture, etc., flourished as an Indian colonial art up to *c.* 800 A.D., then as local classical art of Indian stamp up to *c.* 1200, whereafter Indian elements became less and less ; but even then in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, through overseas connections, specially of Vijayanagar, those specimens of Greater Indian art and architecture must have been well known to contemporary Indians (*cf.* Buddhagupta's travels, and the Indo-Chinese plans of several-storeyed early Mughal buildings at Fatehpur-Sikri and Sikandra). The Hindu revival from the fourteenth century, which started from the South, must have derived something of its force and sustenance from the Hindu world still surviving beyond the Southern Seas.

For two centuries, till 1565, Vijayanagar stood a city of wonders in the realm of art and architecture. Her kings were builders not only of gorgeous palaces and temples, but also of strong fortresses and immense irrigation and water-supply works. Bukka II (1399—1406) enlarged Vijayanagar fortifications, and constructed the huge Tungabhadra river dam and reservoir for water-supply to the capital city by a fifteen-mile-long aqueduct excavated in solid rock for a good part of it. Firuz Bahmani and Deva Raya's daughter's marriage procession passed along a six-mile city road lined with rich shops on either side. Nicolo Conti, the Italian, found the circumference of Vijayanagar city to be about sixty miles in 1420, with fortifications carried right up to the adjacent hills. The buildings of the city were judged by the Timuride ambassador Abdur Razzak in 1443 to be such as the eye had not seen nor the ear heard of anything like them in any other city in the world: it had seven concentric fort walls, the inmost fortress being ten times bigger than the central portion of Herat (then the capital of the Timuride empire of Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia); there were rows of lofty archways[247] and galleries in them at the entrance of each of the many *bazars* of the city. Paes in 1522 estimated Vijayanagar as large as Rome, and having a population of over six lakhs; he counted thirty-four streets within the palace area alone.

After the sack of Vijayanagar (1565), its artists and craftsmen must have been scattered far and migrated in large numbers to more northern courts. Just as the religious and literary revival originating in the South "flew the Vindhays" and produced similar revivals in the North, so also it is perhaps to the destruction of the capital of Vijayanagar that the artistic impetus of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century Northern India was largely due.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Bahmani kings destroyed a large number of mediæval Hindu temples and priestly colleges of the Deccan, and built Muslim mosques, etc., on their sites with the materials of the ruins;[248] thus the renowned temple of Kondapalli near Bezwada in the East

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[247] This shows that arches and archways were not Indo-Saracenic introductions.

[248] This was a continuation of the early Muhammadan (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) way of destroying Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist buildings, with materials of which were built Masjids: *e.g.*, Qutb Minar of Delhi, Ādhāi-din-ki jhomprā of Ajmer, Jami Masjid of Ahmadabad, Kamal Maula Masjid at Dhar, Jami Masjids of Patan, Bharoch and Cambay, Rajghat Masjid of Benares, Zafar Khan's mosque of Tribeni (Bengal).

Coast was destroyed by Muhammad Shah III in 1481 and a mosque was built on and out of it ; the great temple-fortress at Kanchi (within Vijayanagar) was also sacked in 1481, with its walls and roofs covered by gold-plating and decorative designs in precious stones[249] and its fortifications. It is to be expected, therefore, that Bahmani art was based on that of the proceeding Yadavas of Deogiri, and of the more or less contemporary Kākatiyas of Warangal, and the empires of Orissa and Vijayanagar ; to this basis were added Turkish and Egyptian elements through West-Asiatic and African adventurers who found employment in the newly-growing Muslim state of the Bahmanis, as also a well-marked Persian element introduced in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Persian emigrants.

The early buildings of the first capital Kulbarga (the fortress of which was razed to the ground by Krishna Deva Raya) were massive and gloomy and of rough execution. The unique completely roofed mosque of Firuz has already been noted as apparently a reflection of Vijayanagar style ;[250] Firuz also built the fortified palace of Firuzabad on the Bhīmā, south of Kulbarga. In the time of Ahmad Shah (1422—35) the final conquest of the Hindu kingdom of Warangal put its resources and art traditions at the disposal of the Bahmanis, and henceforward design and workmanship became more polished, as exemplified in the new capital of Bidar (1430),—an ancient commanding hill-fort of great natural grandeur, further enhanced by colossal lines of stone fortifications, with regular broad streets and efficient water-supply. In fact the Bahmani fortresses,—which are regarded as their greatest and most abiding monuments, surpassing European fortresses of the same period (*circ*, 1350—1500), are but Bahmani restorations of earlier Hindu ones, which however do the rebuilders great credit. Gwaligarh and Narnala in Berar are examples of engineering and architecture appropriate for mountain strongholds, with good taste and lavish expenditure combined,—the elegant stone-carving of the Fort Gate at Narnala being still in good preservation ; military science is well displayed in the forts of Ausa and Parenda ; the huge fort-guns were made of welded and riveted iron-bars. The reconstructive works at these two forts and also at the forts of Sholapur, Darūr, etc., were directed by the great minister Mahmud Gawan (1457—81), a Persian emigrant,—who also endowed and built the famous college of Bidar (destroyed by Aurangzeb's wars), and under whose patronage the favourite Persian (rather Mongolo-Persian)[251] decoration by enamelled tiles was much used at that new Bahmani capital (much earlier than at Mughal centres).

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[249] It is possible that we have here the prototype of the gold-plating and precious-stone inlaying work of Mughal architecture.

[250] According to Haig, the mosques cannot be a copy from Cordova.

Of the Bahmanide offshoots only Golconda, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur developed the inherited Bahmani art further on fresh lines. The new Muslim state of Golconda was more or less identical with the old Hindu one of Warangal (Orukkal—'the unequalled rock-fortress'), incorporated into the parent Bahmani Kingdom six or seven decades ago ; hence its architecture was a Kākatiya derivative. The Qutb Shahi capital was early transferred from Orukkal to Golconda, and in less than seventy years it was again moved to adjacent Bhagnagar (Hyderabad) towards the close of the sixteenth century ; after another century it came under the influence of the Mughal art of the North. Golconda, now unoccupied except by guards, is noted for the Qutb Shahi tombs[252] built of granite and with narrow-necked and almost circular domes (an accentuated and Islamised form of the older top-*āmalaka* of temples) ; this rather peculiar local style was also imitated in some Bijapur mausoleums, and it is possible that the masterly slight bulge beyond the base line given to domes in Bijapur art is the abiding result of this freak ; a high neck and swelling outline is also the characteristic feature of the dome of Humayun's tomb (1569).[253]

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[251] The decorative use of enamelled tiles was re-introduced from the Chinese world and made prominent in Persia (after the long-past Achamenian days) by the Mongol dynasty of Chengiz Khan that ruled Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia, with Indian borderlands, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Mahmud Gawan's time their Timuride successors were ruling Persia.

The Nizam Shahi capital city of Ahmadnagar was built about 1500, and Ahmad Nizam Shah (d. 1503) beautified it by the ' Bhadrā ' (=' The Elegant ' : *Sans.*) palace in white stone. Ahmadnagar being practically the chief successor of the old Yadava Kingdom of Deogiri (=Daulatabad), the earlier Hindu fortress-styles survived in all its fortress-towns, as at Daulatabad or Ahmadnagar.

Bijapur art, together with that of Gujrat and Rajputana, forms the three-planked bridge whereby earlier Indian art passes into that of Mughal India. The four leading Adil Shahi builders were: Yusuf (1490—1510), Ali I (1558—80), Ibrahim (1580—1626), and Muhammad (1626—56). Yusuf built the stone citadel of Bijapur, whose gigantic fortifying walls, 6¼ miles in circuit, are still mostly intact. Ali's great mosque, finely proportioned, was built to accommodate five thousand worshippers. Ali also constructed aqueducts for water-supply to the whole Bijapur city, and to him is due the spacious audience hall named ' Gagana-mahāl ' (=' Sky-hall,' a Hindu name),[254] 1561. The tomb of Ibrahim II, exquisitely and richly decorated, was built in the time of Jahangir, whose buildings in the North are also characterised by the same wealth and delicacy of decoration. The mausoleum of Muhammad, constructed during the same period as the "Taj" of Shah Jahan, with the second largest dome in the world, is a marvel of skill and it will remain an open question who emulated whom. The grandeur and boldness of design and execution in the splendid architectural monuments of Bijapur was unequalled in contemporary India (*c.* 1490—*c.* 1660). This high level of art was attained very largely through a focussing of various external influences upon the indigenous traditions. Yusuf Adil Shah, the first of the great builders of Bijapur, was a Turkish prince brought up as a Georgian slave and educated in the Persian way, influenced by a Maratha queen and Maratha officials in the affairs of his newly-founded state, and a patron of local artists as well as foreign ones invited from Persia, Turkistan (Central Asia) and Rum (Constantinople). Ibrahim II, son of Chand Bibi of Maratha descent, patron of Brahman and Maratha officials, and known as 'Jagadguru' for his pro-Hindu tastes and attitude (like his contemporary Akbar), encouraged the construction of Christian Catholic churches in his kingdom (*e.g.*, at Chītāpur, Mudgal, Raichur, etc.) with state endowment,—still lasting and under the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa.[255] Ibrahim's palaces were also decorated by Portuguese painters,—and the contemporary Mughal court in its patronage and appreciation of European art was clearly following the Bijapur lead and fashion. In the aforementioned mausoleum of Muhammad, as in the contemporary "Taj," there is trace of fine blending of both native and foreign art, and it would seem that the successful combination of Mediterranean and Indian artistic talents at Bijapur led to its adoption at Agra as well.

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[252] Half-a-mile to the north of the fortress (north of a settlement is the traditional Indian site for funerary memorials), in and around which there are a large number of palaces, mosques, etc.

[253] This feature is held to be derived from Timur's tomb at Samarqand; but it should be remembered that Timur's architects and masons were mostly Indians impressed or invited into his service after his Jamuna Valley campaign (cf. the Indo-Moslem character of Ghazni buildings).

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[254] For a Hindu idea in Mughal audience half, *cf.* the Lotus throne-pillar at Fatehpur-Sikri, built a few years later.

[255] The parallelism of contemporary (and later) Mughal patronage of Portuguese and other Christian churches should be noted.

In his brief reign Babar found time to think of building, and invited architects from Constantinople (Byzantium) to help his new constructions. At that centre the Byzantine (Hellenistic) art was then for more than half a century being engaged in the service of Islam under the expanding empire of the Ottoman Turks ; these Turks, and the Turk offshoots of the disintegrated Timuride Empire from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes, and the Safavis who revived Persia,[256] were long in touch with Greek states and civilization in Asia Minor and Balkan Peninsula ; and it was thus that the pupils of the Albanian architect, Sinan, designer to the Ottoman Empire, found their way into the new kingdom won by the Timuride *protégé* of the first Safavi rulers. But like his ancestor Timur, who employed Indian architects to beautify his Samarqand, Babar also employed in the main Indian stone-masons : 680 of them worked daily on his buildings at Agra, 1,500 daily at Sikri, Biyana, Gwalior, etc.; these larger edifices have perished ; only two minor ones have survived, a commemorative mosque at Panipat (1526) and another at Sambhal (Rohilkhand). Humayun's chequered reign has also left only two ruins, one of a massive mosque (1540) at Fathabad (Hissar) with enamelled tile decoration in Persian manner. As noted before, this ' Persian ' or rather Mongol trait was much in evidence in the Bahmani Kingdom in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and so Humayun cannot be taken as an innovator.[257] The foreshadowing of what was coming in the realm of architecture is not so much in evidence in these early Timuride buildings as in the mausoleum of the first nationalist Indo-Moslem sovereign, Sher Shah (at Sahsaram 1540—45); there we may discern a harmonious combination of Hindu and Moslem architectural ideas, that gives at the same time the impression of a Buddhist stupa,[258] a Hindu temple and a Muslim tomb. Not only in government, but also in culture, the Akbaride régime was a travel along the Sure way.

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[256] Ismail Safavi's grandmother was a Greek princess.

[257] It may well have been introduced there during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when Mongol soldiers of fortune conquered the Deccan for the Khaljis and Tughlaqs and settled there; Mahmud Gawan is thus to be regarded as an emphasiser of this ' Mongolic ' art, coming as he

Akbar had a thorough understanding of architectural details, and his open, assimilative and synthetic mind gathered together artistic ideas from all sides, which were given form by the expert craftsmen he attracted to his court; as Abdul Fazl says he " planned splendid edifices and dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay." Fergusson remarked that Fatehpur-Sikri was a reflex of the mind of a great man. Apart from masterpieces, the Akbaride style is also shown in a number of forts, villas, towers, sarais, schools, tanks and wells of his time. While Akbar still adhered to Persian ideas of art, inherited from his mother (coming of a Persian Shaikh family of Jam) and from his Persianised father and grandfather, his Rajput marriages attracted him equally towards Hindu art traditions, and this, combined with his deliberate policy of winning over the Hindu peoples and princes, led him to build very largely in Hindu styles. Thus the ' Jahangiri ' Mahal in Agra Fort or many of the edifices of Sikri (the capital from 1569 to 1584) could well have been built by any contemporary Rajput prince. Even in Humayun's tomb (1569) at Delhi, usually considered to be a Persianistic building, the ground plan is Indian, the free use

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did from a Mongolised Persia. It is even doubtful if there was not all along a survival of indigenous enamelled tile art coming down from ancient India.

[258] Buddhist buildings were still standing here and there in the country.

of white marble is Indian, and the Persian coloured tile decoration is absent, while the swelling dome on high neck was already there in contemporary India (in the Peninsula). At Sikri, the most remarkable of the structures are the Buland Durwaza (1575-76), in commemoration of Gujrat conquest, the Diwan-i-Khas with its central Lotus throne-pillar of Hindu conception, and the Panch Mahal (five-storied pavilion),—a continuation of the plan of the Indian Buddhist 'vihāras' (which still existed in many parts in the latter part of Akbar's reign, as Buddhagupta's travels indicate). The mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandarah, planned in his lifetime and executed between 1605 and 1612, characterised by five square terraces diminishing in ascending order, is of the Panch Mahal type; the design included a light dome over the cenotaph, which was never built; since a vaulted roof to the top storey is a well-known feature of the Buddhist buildings of Cambodia and neighbouring regions in 'Greater India,' since craftsmen even from the Far East are said to have been drawn to the Mughal court, and since some amount of acquaintance with Indonesian architectural examples through everseas pilgrim traffic and trade still survived in the sixteenth century, it is not improbable that at Sikri and Sikandarah the Indian and Indonesian Buddhistic art survivals have left their stamp. Other buildings at Sikandarah and at Agra (*e.g.*, the Akbari Mahal and the magnificent Agra fort walls) are due to Akbar, as also the forts of Attock and Allahabad,—the construction of the latter taking forty years and 5,000 to 20,000 workmen of different denominations (acc. to Finch).

Jahangir was not so prolific a builder as his father, but two structures of his time are of great interest: one, Akbar's tomb, has already been discussed; the other due to Nur Jahan is the tomb of her father, Itimad-ud-daulah (Agra, 1628),—built entirely of white marble decorated with semi-precious stone inlay on marble (often superior to the same style of decoration later in Shah Jahan's time). Earlier specimens of this work (which superseded the ordinary tessellated mosaic or marble inlay in Akbar's days) are to be found in the Gol Mandal at Udaipur (from 1600); it is therefore probable that this 'pietra-dura' work is a Rajput style. Old Indian architectural works and references know of a decoration style called 'maṇi-śilā-karma' or maṇi-bhūmikā-karma,' *i.e.*, precious stones inlay work; the sixteenth and seventeenth century Renaissance may have revived this ancient art. It is nevertheless possible that Italian Renaissance decoration of a similar nature gave, through foreign craftsmen at the different Indian capitals, an impetus to that revival. To this day this art flourishes only in Rajput regions near about.

In Shah Jahan's time Mughal buildings loose in grandeur and originality, but gain in soft grace and rich, skilful decoration, so that architecture becomes jewellery on a bigger scale.

Shah Jahan's buildings—palaces, forts, gardens and mosques—were many (at Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Qandahar, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Mukhlispur, and other places); and from what is said about the cost of some of them (like the Taj, 1531—53) it is clear that the total public works expenditure in his reign ran into several dozen crores of rupees.[259] Just as the grandeur and freedom of Akbar's personality is reflected in his buildings specially at Fatehpur-Sikri, so also is the lavishness and love of display of Shah Jahan reflected in his costly architectural jewellery,—more particularly in his Delhi buildings, amongst which was the silver-ceilinged, marble, gold and precious stone decorated Diwani-i-khas, a '*firdaus bar ru-yi zamin*.'[260] From the standpoint of true art, the Moti Masjid of Agra represents the architectural zenith of Shah Jahan's time ; here again its arches and pillars are repetitions of Hindu symbolisms and forms, fittingly adapted for Muslim religious purposes. 'Who built the Taj' is still an open question, on which historians range themselves either on the side of Smith or on that of Moin-uddin Ahmad,[261] more or less completely ; a few additional points however may be noted in this connection :—*firstly*, there is hardly any novelty in the plan and chief features of the Taj ; from Sher's mausoleum, and through Humayun's tomb and the Bijapur memorials, the descent of the style can easily be discerned ; so also, we should not forget that 'lace-work' in marble and other stones and precious stone inlay work on marble (*pietra dura*), are derived from earlier Western Indian and Rajput art (*e.g.*, from Ahmadabad and Udaipur, respectively) ; *secondly*, the lavish employment of white marble and various decorations of Indian character show that Persian influence is not quite as dominating in Shah Jahan's buildings as is usually thought ; *thirdly*, there is nothing historically inconsistent in the existence of certain Mediterranean (the term 'European' is not correctly descriptive) elements in the sixteenth and seventeenth century art of India ; such elements existed at Bijapur and Gujrat, in architecture and painting, owing to intercourse with the Western world ; as noted already, Babar invited Balkan[262] artists to India ; it is also well known that Mughal court painting was influenced by European paintings in certain points ; again, Christian buildings and

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[259] There is uncertainty about approximate figures; see an estimate of 1646 given in Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*.

[260] One is reminded of the Kanchi temple (in Vijayanagar Empire) sacked by the Bahmanis in 1481, where the walls, roofs and ceiling were covered by gold-plate and precious stone decorations. It is quite likely

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that this metal-plating and precious stone inlay of the Southern empire passed into the North with the fall of Vijayanagar and gave rise to the *pietra dura* work of Rajputana and Mughal cities and to the silver and gold decoration in Mughal palaces.

[261] Smith, *History of Fine Arts*, pp. 416—18; M. Ahmad, *Taj and Its environments*, pp. 16—30 (Second Edition); also Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*.

[262] Usually called 'Slavonic and Byzantine.'

builders were not unknown in contemporary India, Mughal or non-Mughal, North or South.

If not positively opposed to architecture, Aurangzeb did not encourage new construction of artistic merit, and craftsmen hitherto attracted from all quarters to the Mughal cities must have rapidly become unemployed and their art traditions gradually lost to a great extent,—surviving partly in the decadent 'later Mughal' states of Oudh and Hyderabad in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The few structures of Aurangzeb's reign are mostly mediocre, or copies from older models like the Lahore mosque of 1674 (a feeble duplicate of the great mosque of Delhi).

The origin, nature and development of what is called 'Mughal painting' are similar to those of 'Mughal architecture.' Chinese art, historically a blend under Indian Buddhist influence of Indian, Iranian, Hellenic (Bactrian) and Mongolian art traditions, was introduced into Persia in the thirteenth century by its Mongol conquerors, and continued by their Timuride successors. Thus between 1200 and 1500 A.D. a provincialised form of Chinese art (of Buddhist origin) grew up in Persia, which the Mughals imported into India, being closely connected with the Persian court from *c.* 1500 to 1555 (in Babar and Humayun's time) as also later on. This Indo-Sino-Persian importation was then joined in the time of Akbar to the contemporary Indian schools of painting, derived from a renaissance of earlier styles, and flourishing in different parts of the country like Gujrat, Rajputana, etc.

A Gujrati school of manuscript illustration, closely related to the somewhat earlier Nepal, Bengal and Burma schools of manuscript painting, flourished from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, whereafter it passed into the Rajput and Mughal styles. Paper was used for these paintings from early fifteenth century, the known date of one such being 1427 (that of a palm leaf painting being 1237). The subjects of such paintings were mainly Jaina (religious), but sometimes also secular, as in an illustrated manuscript of Vasanta-vilāsa dated 1451. Brilliant colouring, as well as facile, free, expressive, and masterly outline drawing, characterised these paintings. Mural painting occurs quite early in Rajputana, earlier than the fifteenth century, as in the old palace at Bikaner. With increasing use of paper (fifteenth century) painting methods on walls or panels, etc., were transferred to paper, so that the Hindu paper painting technique of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the direct descendant of the classical Ajanta technique. The subjects of these renaissance paintings in Rajputana and connected regions were mainly Vaiṣṇava (including topics from the Epics), occasionally Śaiva ; on the secular side the subjects were musical or poetic-rhetoric concepts or portraiture. The earlier works of this movement, of Rajputana proper, Bundelkhand and Jammu, show the greater vigour of outline and the brighter colouring ; the examples get softened with the Mughal times. In Bengal and Orissa also there existed schools of painting related to the Rajput School (and to its later offshoots the Jammu, the Kangra and the Garhwal schools). In Vijayanagar, side by side with architecture and sculpture, a distinct school of painting flourished throughout its period of greatness (mid-fourteenth to close of sixteenth century), whose merits are inferable now only from foreign testimony, examples having been destroyed ; here too the subjects were largely Epic or Vaiṣṇava. In Bijapur and Ahmadnagar the art of illustrating and illuminating manuscript reached a very high level, and their big libraries contained many examples of these. The Bijapur court also patronised Portuguese and other Western painters who worked for the palace decorations ; the same patronage of European art in different branches seems to have been a feature of the Gujrat and Vijayanagar courts also in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The indigenous artists of India, mostly hereditary painters with generations of training on traditional lines, differed in motives and sentiment from West-Asiatic or Persian painters who found their way into India at this time ; the latter took their subjects and inspiration from the materialistic life of the Court, while the Hindu Renaissance painters took them from Indian classics, Vaiṣṇava literature and intimate life of the nation. Yet, the inheritance of technique being more or less the same, the Timuride importation of Sino-Persian style in the Jamuna Valley at once attracted large numbers of Hindu painters who soon produced an Indianised form of that art. Thus the process of modification of Mongol or Chinese characteristics and growing predominance of contemporary Indian features is seen clearly in the paintings of a copy of *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria* and of *Badshah-namah* preserved in the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna.

It is possible that Babar employed court painters like his ancestors ; the paintings in the Alwar MS. of the Persian version of Babar's *Memoirs* may represent the kind of work they produced. During his exile in Persia, Humayun studied Persian music, poetry and painting, and came into contact with the leading Sino-Persian artists in Shah Tahmasp's employ. After restoration to Kabul, Humayun in 1550 invited to Kabul two of the pupils of the famous Bihzad of Herat (who was the court painter of Ismail Safavi), Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus Samad, Shirin-Kalam ; Humayun and Akbar had lessons from them, and they were charged with the work of illustrating the Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah ; they and their Indian assistants may be said to be the nucleus of the Mughal court painting later on made great by Akbar. In Sayyid Ali and Samad's paintings for the Amir Hamzah, done between 1550 and 1560, the Sino-Persian manner is dominant ; but in 1562, after Akbar's Rajput alliances, the painting showing the arrival of the Vaiṣṇava musician Tansen at the

Mughal Court betrays a fusion with the Indian style: from 1569 to 1585 the predominantly native architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri was embellished with considerably Indianised paintings produced by a small number of Persian painters and a large number of Hindu artists, each set ready to use any good point in the craft of the other under the guidance of Abdus Samad. The foreign artists (Persian or others) at Akbar's court were very few, the best known of them being the aforesaid Persians, Samad, Khusrau Quli and Jamshed, and the Kalmuck Farrukh Beg; the Hindu and native artists were in a large (the proportion being about 4 to 13) majority, and they were at their best in the best features of the Mughal art, —portraiture, book-illustration, and animal studies,[263] and Abul Fazl considered that 'few in the whole world are found equal to them;' they belonged to Kayastha, Chitera, Silavat, Khati, and Kahar castes, and their method was organised collaboration in the same piece of work; the best known among them were Daswant, Basawan, Lal, Kesu, Mukund, and Haribans;[264] they were drawn from all over the country from Kashmir to Gujrat: in thus bringing together men of diverse denominations the Mughal School of painting was carrying out the contemporary Indian Reformation Idea in the domain of art. Akbar indeed tried to give a religious outlook to his patronage of painting,—which was apparently opposed to Islamic doctrine: he held that 'the painter has quite peculiar means of realising divinity,' and Abul Fazl was of opinion that the Emperor's arguments made 'the bigoted followers of the letter of the law see the truth.'

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[263] Akbar had a big album of portraits, now sequestered; probably Umar Sheikh's portrait of Babar (in Br. Mus.) was in it once. The best of book-illustrations of this period are in Razmnamah (Jaipur) and Akbarnamah (Br. Mus.). Animal studies in Babarnama (Vict. and Alb. Mus.), and Mansur and Jagannath's birds.

[264] Mansur and Jagannath belong to close of Akbar's reign and later.

By thus raising painting in Muslim estimate, by organising weekly court exhibitions and suitable rewards, providing studios (*e.g.*, at Fatehpur-Sikri), and enrolling over a hundred artists in the ranks of *mansabdars*, *ahadis* and infantrymen (for subsidiary craftsmen), and also by improving the production and marketing of the art materials, Akbar gave Indian painting a very strong impetus.

Luckily Jahangir continued to support it enthusiastically; he was a 'rich collector' paying handsomely for quality, a connoisseur, an art critic, able to name collaborators in a composite piece from individual touches. The last foreign artists came in his time: Aga Reza and his son Abul Hasan from Herat, and Nadir and Murad from Samarqand; in the Indian group the best known were Bishandas, Manohar and Govardhan. Jahangir himself was a keen student of miniature painting, and the royal taste produced a crop of classical miniatures in this period; he constantly added to the state galleries the best samples of all the schools of painting in India or abroad, and this led to the emancipation of Mughal art from Persian influences,—so that during the half-Rajput Jahangir's reign an essentially Indian art grew up, leaning more and more to Hindu tradition, yet freely assimilating good points of many systems, under the guidance of his æsthetic genius. With him however the real spirit of the Mughal Art died.

Shah Jahan had no special liking for painting, and in this matter probably he was guided to some extent by his own and his wife's orthodox Muslim views; his love of pomp, however, is reflected, as in his richly-decorated architecture, in court portraiture and durbar pictures in gaudy colours and much gold,[265]—a display concealing decline in true art. Imperial patronage was almost withdrawn from 'Mughal painting;' the number and emoluments of court artists were reduced, so that most of them were constrained to seek employment under lesser princes and nobles ; it was however only in Rajputana and in the Himalayan states that such extra-imperial patronage was considerable and helpful—and so it was in those regions that painting continued to flourish throughout the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. Within the Empire Dara Shikoh (whose album of paintings is in India Office) sought to revive the imperial patronage, but his unfortunate career spoilt the prospects not only of the empire but also of its art. Painters were now forced to set up studios in the bazars and to make picture-selling to the general public a means of livelihood. Bernier in his time noted the lack of opportunities for attaining distinction and the poor remuneration under which Indian artists then had to suffer. The final blow to Mughal painting was dealt by Aurangzeb, who was hostile to the art as also much more to music, as opposed to Islam ; he is said to have defaced the paintings in Asar Mahal at Bijapur and whitewashed those in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandarah. Yet his own portraits in various situations (with[266] or without his sanction) are numerous, and he is known to have inspected periodical portraits of his rebellious son Muhammad Sultan to know how he fared in prison. After Aurangzeb, with the rise of the 'later Mughal' states of Oudh and Hyderabad, and the formation of the Bengal Nawabship and the Mysore Sultanate, the surviving painters of the Mughal School migrated to Lucknow, Patna, Murshidabad, Hyderabad and Mysore, and carried on the old traditions at those places, but both patronage and execution were far below the earlier levels.

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[265] *E.g.*, One in Bodleian Library at Oxford.

As noted above, painting continued to flourish in Rajputana, where even in the eighteenth century the Jaipur style retained the original Rajput brilliancy and decorative treatment. The cognate Kangra School produced, under the patronage of

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[266] No case of his *express* sanction is however recorded in history.

Raja Samsar Chand, most exquisite and refined though not very vigorous paintings in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Tehri-Garhwal School was its offshoot, and this later on developed into the early nineteenth century Sikh portrait painting. In the Far South in Ceylon, a good revival of Indian painting took place in the eighteenth century under the Kandy kings who restored Ceylonese shrines.

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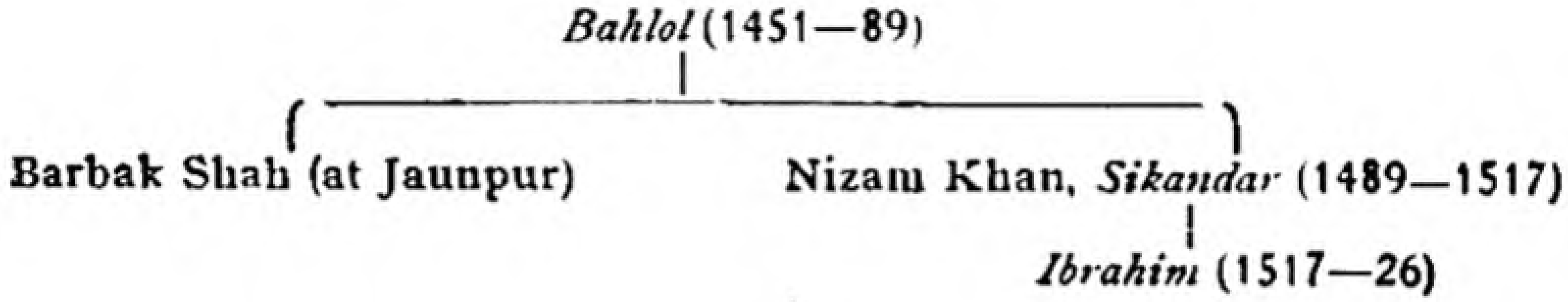
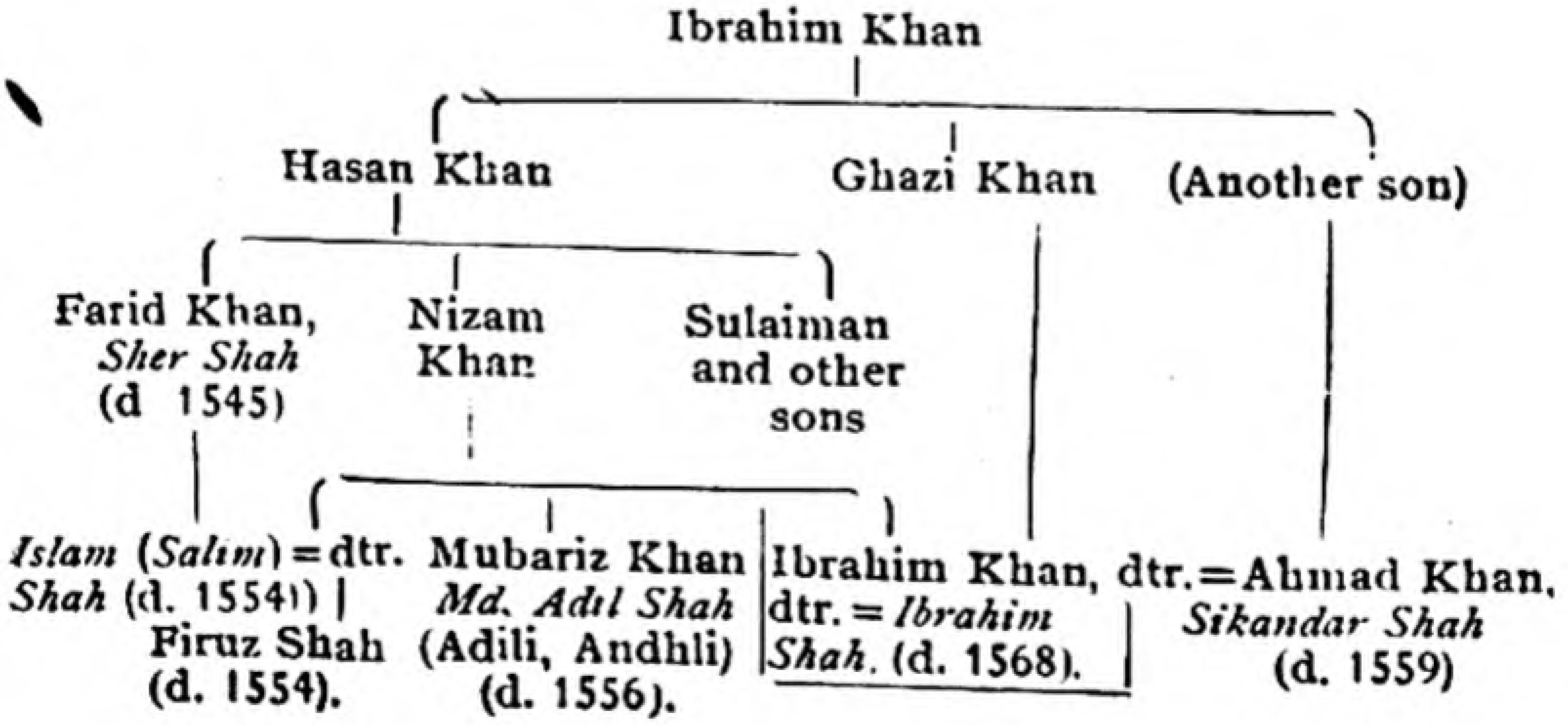
APPENDIX

DYNASTIC TABLES

LODIS OF DELHI


Bahlol (1451—89)
Barbak Shah (at Jaunpur)
Nizam Khan, *Sikandar* (1489—1517)
Ibrahim (1517—26)

SURS OF SAHSARAM


Ibrahim Khan
Hasan Khan
Ghazi Khan
(Another son)
Farid Khan, *Sher Shah* (d 1545)
Nizam Khan
Sulaiman and other sons
Islam (*Salim*) = dtr. *Shah* (d. 1554) | Firuz Shah (d. 1554).
Mubariz Khan *Md. Adil Shah* (Adili, Andhli) (d. 1556).
Ibrahim Khan, dtr. = *Ibrahim Shah*. (d. 1568).
dtr. = Ahmad Khan, *Sikandar Shah* (d. 1559)

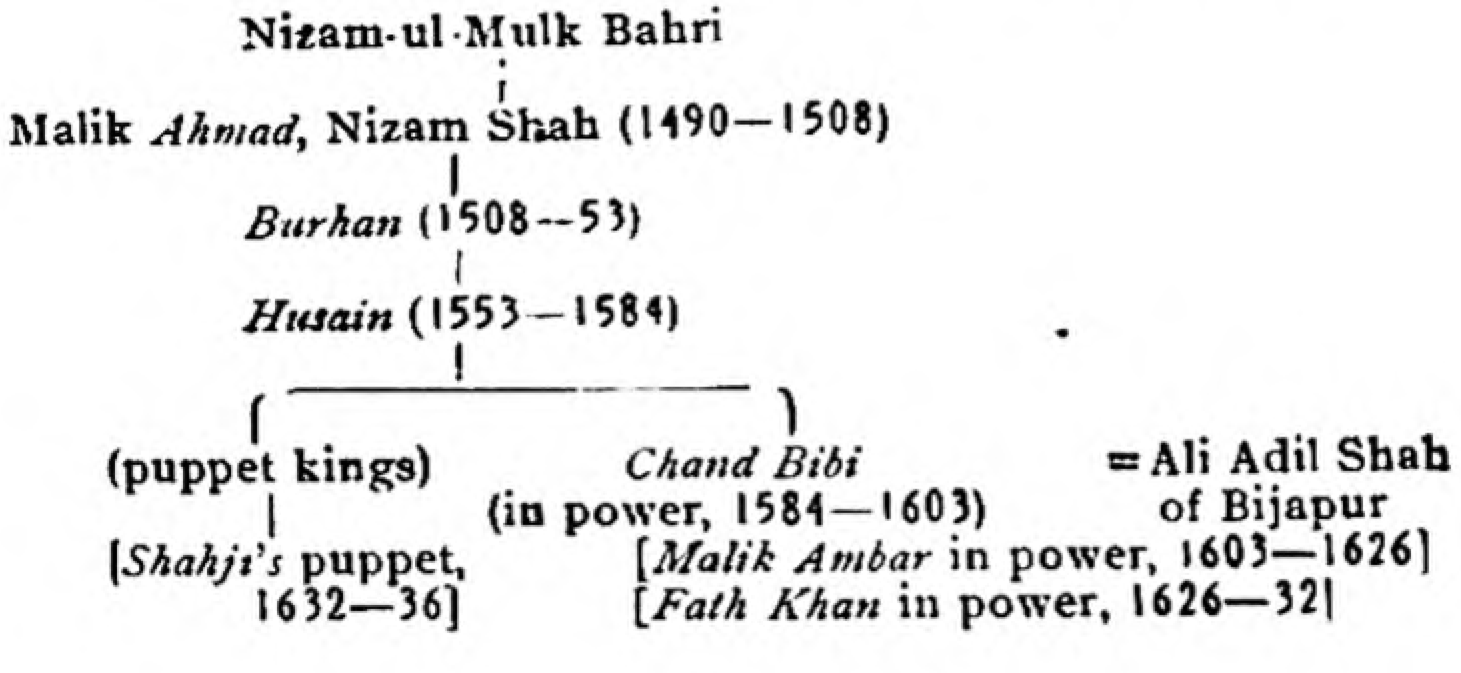
ADIL SHAHIS OF BIJAPUR

1. *Yusuf* (1490—1510)
2. *Ismail* (1510—1534)
    - 3. *Mallu* (1534-35)
    - 4. *Ibrahim* I (1535—57)
        - 5. *Ali* = Chand Bibi (1557 - 80)
        - 6. *Ibrahim II* (1580—1626)
        - 7. *Muhammad* (1626—1656)
        - 8. *Ali II* (1656—73)
        - 9. *Sikandar* (1673—86).

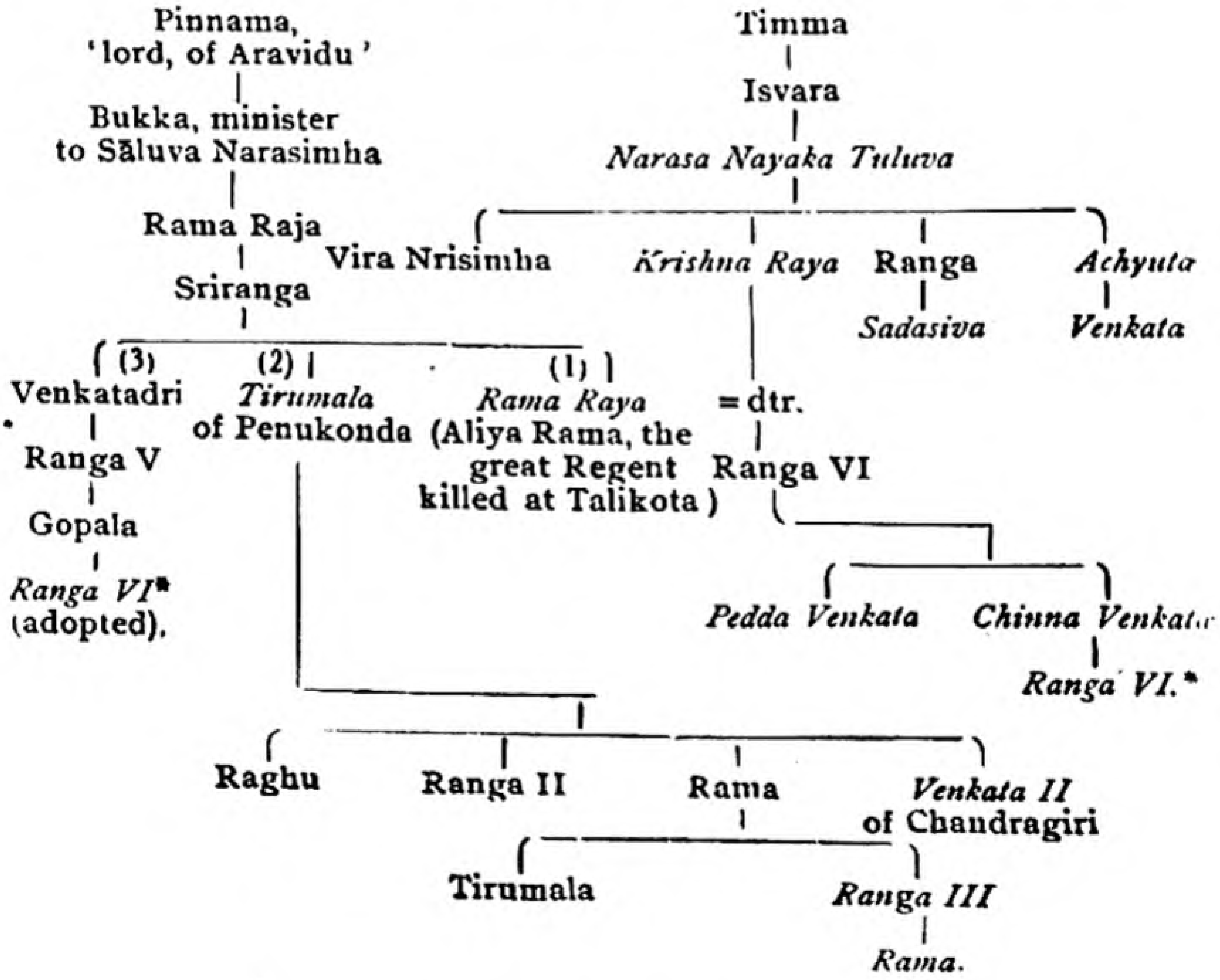
QUTB SHAHIS OF GOLKUNDA

1. *Quli* Qutb Shah (1518—1543)
    - *Jamshid* (parricide) (1543—50)
    - *Ibrahim* (1550—80)
        - *Muhammad Quli* (1580—1611)
        - *Abdullah* (submitted to Aurangzeb, 1656)
        - *Abul Hasan* (deported 1687)

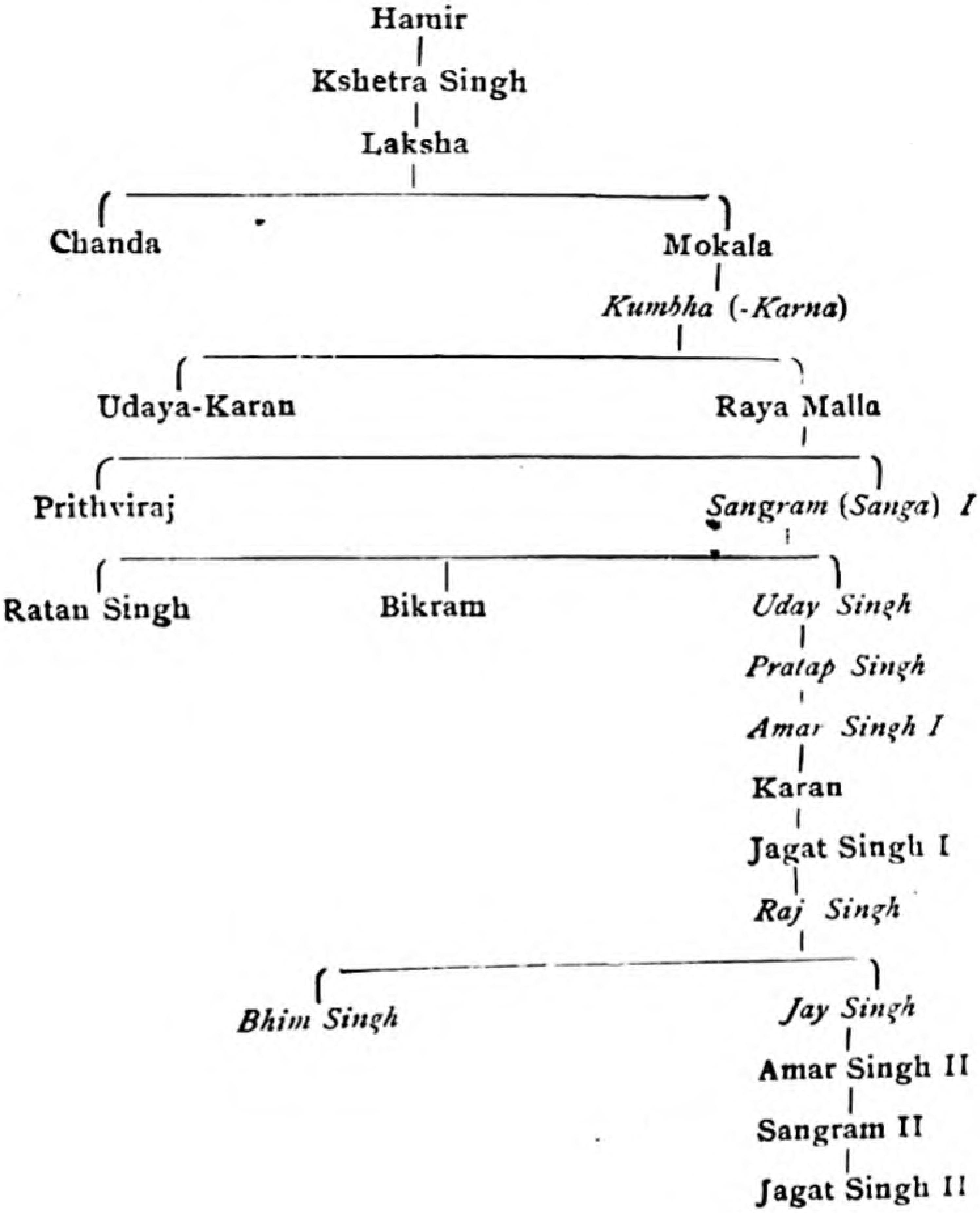
NIZAM SHAHIS OF AHMADNAGAR


Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri
Malik *Ahmad*, Nizam Shah (1490—1508)
Burhan (1508--53)
Husain (1553—1584)
(puppet kings)
[*Shahji's* puppet, 1632—36]
Chand Bibi (in power, 1584—1603)
=Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur
[*Malik Ambar* in power, 1603—1626]
[*Fath Khan* in power, 1626—32]

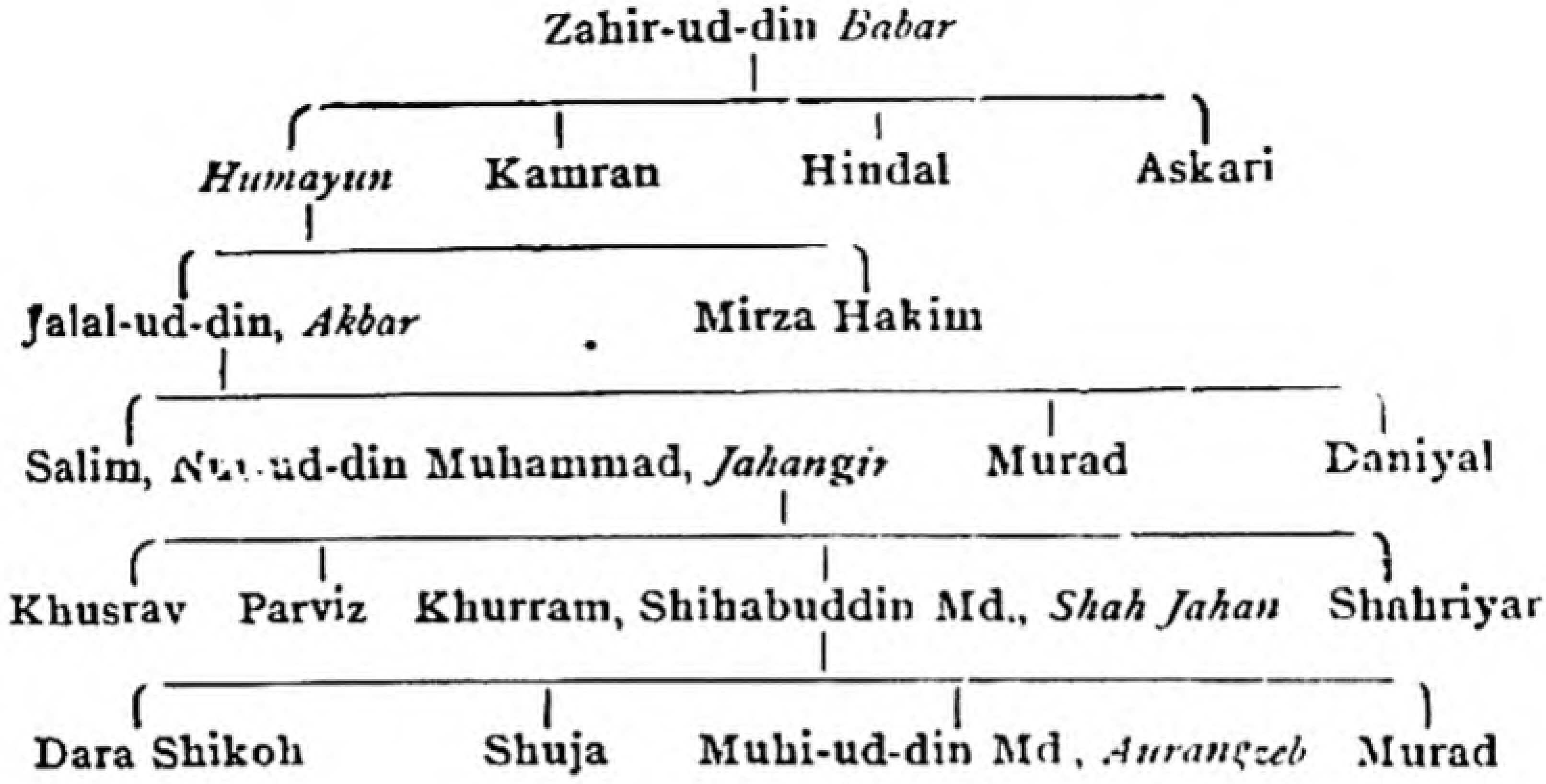
TULUVA DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR AND ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF PENUKONDA-CHANDRAGIRI


Pinnama, 'lord, of Aravidu'
Bukka, minister to Sāluva Narasimha
Rama Raja
Sriranga
(3) Venkatadri
Ranga V
Gopala
*Ranga VI** (adopted).
(2) *Tirumala* of Penukonda
(1) *Rama Raya* (Aliya Rama, the great Regent killed at Talikota)
Timma
Isvara
Narasa Nayaka Tuluva
Vira Nrisimha
Krishna Raya
Ranga
Sadasiva
Achyuta
Venkata
=dtr.
Ranga VI
Pedda Venkata
Chinna Venkat
*Ranga VI.**
Raghu
Ranga II
Rama
Venkata II of Chandragiri
Tirumala
Ranga III
Rama.

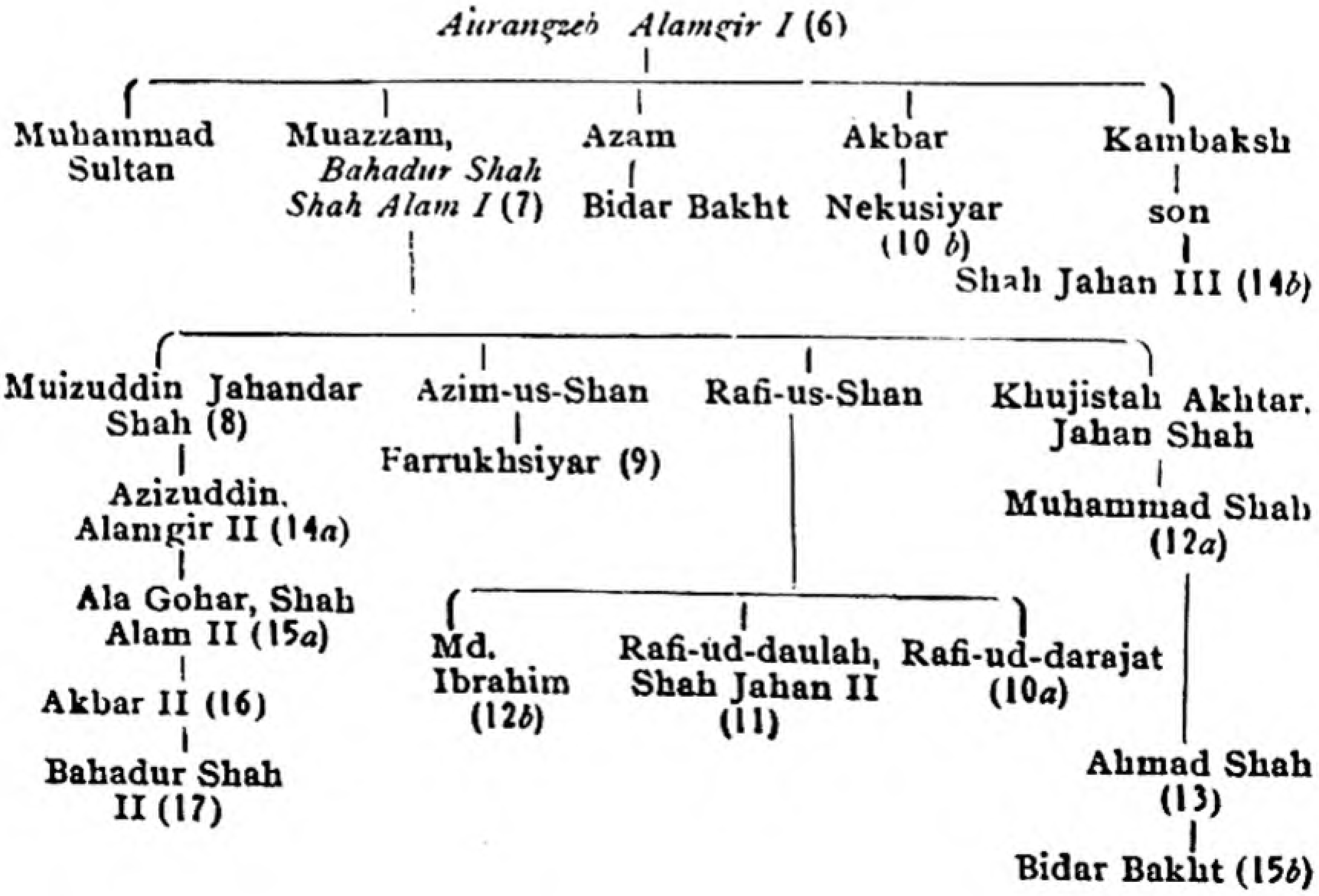
SISODIAS OF MEWAR


Hamir
Kshetra Singh
Laksha
Chanda
Mokala
Kumbha (-Karna)
Udaya-Karan
Raya Malla
Prithviraj
Sangram (Sanga) I
Ratan Singh
Bikram
Uday Singh
Pratap Singh
Amar Singh I
Karan
Jagat Singh I
Raj Singh
Bhim Singh
Jay Singh
Amar Singh II
Sangram II
Jagat Singh II

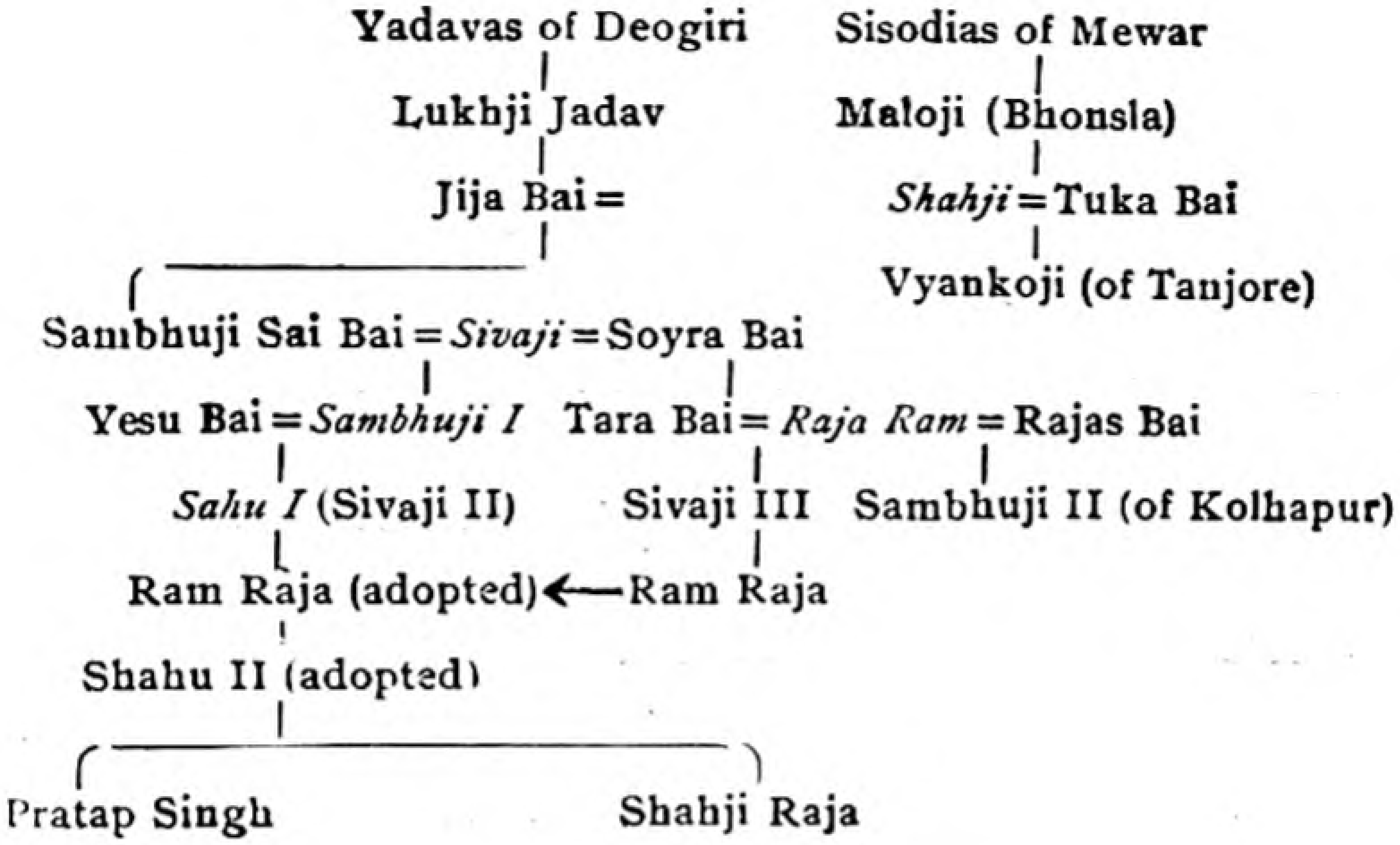
EARLY TIMURIDS


Zahir-ud-din *Babar*
Humayun
Kamran
Hindal
Askari
Jalal-ud-din, *Akbar*
Mirza Hakim
Salim, Nur-ud-din Muhammad, *Jahangir*
Murad
Daniyal
Khusrav
Parviz
Khurram, Shihabuddin Md., *Shah Jahan*
Shahriyar
Dara Shikoh
Shuja
Muhi-ud-din Md., *Aurangzeb*
Murad

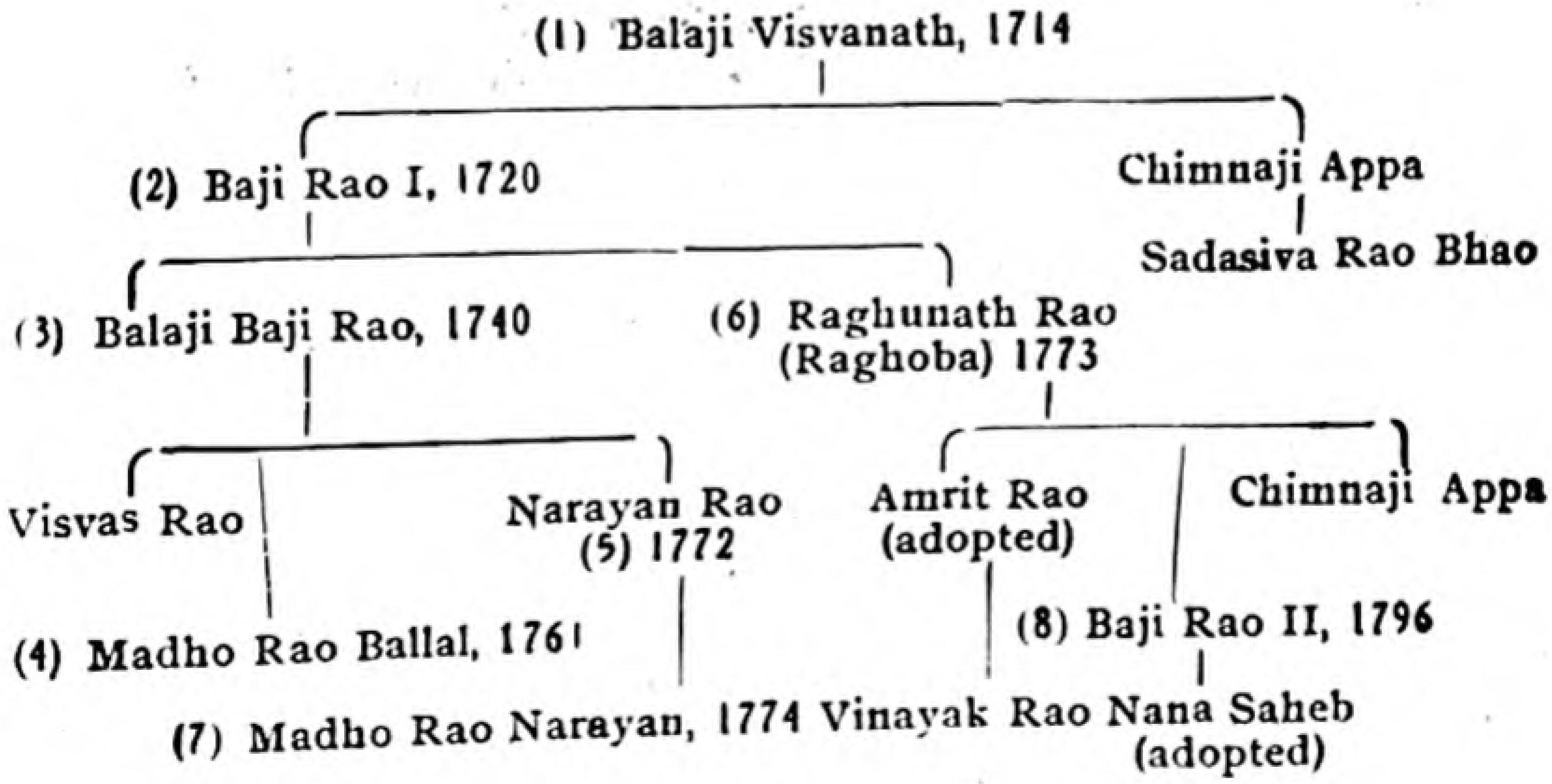
LATER TIMURIDS


Aurangzeb Alamgir I (6)
Muhammad Sultan
Muazzam, *Bahadur Shah* *Shah Alam I* (7)
Azam
Bidar Bakht
Akbar
Nekusiyar (10 *b*)
Kambaksh
son
Shah Jahan III (14*b*)
Muizuddin Jahandar Shah (8)
Azizuddin, Alamgir II (14*a*)
Ala Gohar, Shah Alam II (15*a*)
Akbar II (16)
Bahadur Shah II (17)
Azim-us-Shan
Farrukhsiyar (9)
Rafi-us-Shan
Md. Ibrahim (12*b*)
Rafi-ud-daulah, Shah Jahan II (11)
Rafi-ud-darajat (10*a*)
Khujistah Akhtar, Jahan Shah
Muhammad Shah (12*a*)
Ahmad Shah (13)
Bidar Bakht (15*b*)

SHIVAJI'S FAMILY


Yadavas of Deogiri
Sisodias of Mewar
Lukhji Jadav
Maloji (Bhonsla)
Jija Bai =
Shahji = Tuka Bai
Vyankoji (of Tanjore)
Sambhuji Sai Bai = *Sivaji* = Soyra Bai
Yesu Bai = *Sambhuji I*
Tara Bai = *Raja Ram* = Rajas Bai
Sahu I (Sivaji II)
Sivaji III
Sambhuji II (of Kolhapur)
Ram Raja (adopted) ← Ram Raja
Shahu II (adopted)
Pratap Singh
Shahji Raja

'PESHWA' DYNASTY


(1) Balaji Visvanath, 1714
(2) Baji Rao I, 1720
Chimnaji Appa
Sadasiva Rao Bhao
(3) Balaji Baji Rao, 1740
(6) Raghunath Rao (Raghoba) 1773
Visvas Rao
Narayan Rao (5) 1772
Amrit Rao (adopted)
Chimnaji Appa
(4) Madho Rao Ballal, 1761
(8) Baji Rao II, 1796
(7) Madho Rao Narayan, 1774
Vinayak Rao
Nana Saheb (adopted)

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